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Title: Statutory resolution regarding approval of proclamation by the President in relation to the State of Karnataka (Resolution adopted).

MR. SPEAKER: Now, the House shall take up Item No. 14 – Statutory Resolution regarding seeking approval of the proclamation issued by the hon. President on 10<sup>th</sup> November, 2007 under Article 356(1) of the Constitution of India in respect of the State of Karnataka, for which we have to allot time. I think, we may allot one and a half hour for this item.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL): Sir, rise to move:

"That this House approves the proclamation issued by the President on 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2007 under Article 356(1) of the Constitution in relation to the State of Karnataka."

As the hon. Members are aware, election to constitute the Legislative Assembly of Karnataka were held in April, 2004. The elections resulted in a hung Legislative Assembly in the State. On 28<sup>th</sup> May, 2004, a coalition Government comprising Janata Dal (S) and the Congress was formed. However, in January, 2006, a group of 39 MLAs of JD(S) led by Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy broke away from the alliance and formed a Government with the support of the BJP with Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy as the Chief Minister.

**13.57 hrs.** (Mr. Deputy-Speaker *in the Chair*)

There was an understanding between the two coalition partners that the JD(S) would hold the Chief Minister's post for the first 20 months and the BJP for the next 20 months. The period of 20 months for the JD(S) ended on 3<sup>rd</sup> October, 2007. Seventy-nine MLAs of the BJP presented themselves before the Governor and withdrew support to the coalition Government on 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2007. On 8<sup>th</sup> October, 2007, the leaders of the Congress party also submitted a memorandum to the Governor stating that the Ministry headed by Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy had been reduced to a minority and demanded the dismissal of the Government. Thereafter, the Chief Minister met the Governor and submitted his resignation on 8<sup>th</sup> October, 2007.

The Governor in his report dated 8<sup>th</sup> October, 2007, recommended invoking President's Rule in the State of Karnataka as there was no possibility of any party or person being in a position to form a Ministry with majority support in the Assembly. The report of the Governor was considered by the Union Government and the President's Rule was proclaimed on 9<sup>th</sup> October, 2007 in the State of Karnataka under Article 356(1) of the Constitution keeping the Legislative Assembly under suspended animation.

In view of the political developments in the State after the imposition of the President's Rule, the Union Government was informed by the Governor that on 27<sup>th</sup> October, 2007, a group of JD(S) and BJP leaders met him and staked their claim to form a Government led by the BJP leader Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa. [\[r36\]](#)

**14.00 hrs.** [\[m37\]](#)

On 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2007 the JD(S) and BJP combine submitted 129 letters of individual support to the Governor (79 BJP, 41 JD(S), 3 JDS(U) and 6 Independents) and also signed in the register at Raj Bhawan. The Governor also indicated that there were a few MLAs and leaders like Shri M.P. Prakash, Shri D.G.R. Sindhia and several academicians and eminent men who urged him not to accept the coalition arrangement and call for fresh elections. He also stated that the JD(S) President and former Prime Minister, Shri H.D. Deve Gowda had written to the Prime Minister suggesting dissolution of the House. Besides, the Governor also enclosed a draft MoU sent by Shri H.D. Deve Gowda to the BJP National President Shri Rajnath Singh imposing conditions for the coalition which was contrary to the unconditional support given to him earlier by the 129 MLAs supporting the coalition. The Governor concluded that in spite of his reservations about stability, keeping in view the imperatives of the democratic option with reference to the numerical strength, the President may consider affording an opportunity to Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa to form a Government and revoke the Presidential Proclamation. Accordingly, the Union Government considered the report of the Governor and revoked President's rule in the State of Karnataka on 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2007.

Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa took oath on 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2007 and inducted four Ministers from the BJP. The Governor in his

report dated 19<sup>th</sup> November, 2007 stated that the Chief Minister was given eight days time from the date of assumption of the office of Chief Minister to prove his majority on the floor of the House. Accordingly, the Karnataka Legislative Assembly was summoned at 11 a.m. on 19<sup>th</sup> November, 2007. Prior to the Vote of Confidence on 19<sup>th</sup> November, 2007, the JD(S) reportedly issued a whip to the JD(S) Legislators to vote against the Confidence Motion. The forenoon Session of the Assembly commenced with the reading of obituaries. The House was adjourned after that. At 3.05 p.m. the House was reconvened and the Confidence Motion was tabled. The Chief Minister spoke at length about the cooperation rendered by the BJP to the JD(S) during the past 20 months and highlighted his party's achievements as Deputy Chief Minister. However, the Congress Members, Shri Dharam Singh and Shri Mallikarjuna Kharge spoke derisively about the Government seeking the Confidence Motion when the coalition partner had itself issued a whip against it. Subsequently, Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa got up to speak but left midway stating that he was leaving for Raj Bhawan to tender his resignation and did not want any further discussion on the Confidence Motion. The Speaker adjourned the House at 4.40 p.m. as the Confidence Motion had failed.

The Governor in his report indicated that he had accepted the resignation tendered by Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa at 4.45 p.m. on 19<sup>th</sup> November, 2007. He was of the opinion that no party or individual is in a position to form the Government in the State of Karnataka with majority support and that he was satisfied that a situation had arisen in the State in which the Government of the State could not be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The Governor, therefore, recommended that President's Rule under Article 356 (1) of the Constitution of India may be imposed with immediate effect after dissolving or suspending the Legislative Assembly of the State of Karnataka.

The Union Government considered the report of the Governor and proclaimed President's Rule in the State of Karnataka under Article 356 (1) of the Constitution on 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2007 keeping the Legislative Assembly under suspended animation. [\[m38\]](#)

With these words, I commend, Sir, that the Proclamation issued on 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2007 under Article 356(1) of the Constitution in relation to the State of Karnataka be upheld by this House. A copy of the Proclamation, as stipulated under the Constitution, along with the consequential order has been placed on the Table of the house on 21<sup>st</sup> November, 2007. In keeping with the convention, a copy of the Governor's Report recommending issuance of the Proclamation is also placed on the Table of the House.

It is clear from the current political situation that there is no likelihood of any Government being formed in the State of Karnataka. Once the august House approves the Proclamation, the intention of the Government is to dissolve the Legislative Assembly in the State of Karnataka.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Motion moved :

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2007 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Karnataka."

...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Ananth Kumar to speak now.

SHRI VARKALA RADHAKRISHNAN (CHIRAYINKIL): What prompted the Governor to keep the Assembly in suspended animation? ...(Interruptions) That has created this position. ...(Interruptions)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : जब आपकी पार्टी की बारी आयेगी, आप तब बोलियेगा। Please sit down now.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI VARKALA RADHAKRISHNAN : What was the purpose? The only purpose is for horse-trading. That is what is happening actually. ...(Interruptions)

**उपाध्यक्ष महोदय :** जब आपकी पार्टी का टाइम आयेगा, आप तब बोलियेगा। You are wasting the time of the House. Please take your seat.

...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Nothing else will be recorded except the speech of Shri Ananth Kumar.

(Interruptions)\*

SHRI VARKALA RADHAKRISHNAN : As early as in 1959, the Kerala Assembly was dissolved; not only the Assembly was dissolved but even the Speaker's post was dissolved. ...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please sit down.

...(Interruptions)

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\* Not recorded

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL : Please hear me Shri Radhakrishnan.

Sir, this is happening because of the Supreme Court's ruling. The moment this House says that the decision taken by the Government of India is approved by this House, we are going to dissolve the House. I have said it in my statement that we are going to dissolve the House immediately. ...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Ananth Kumar may speak now.

...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please sit down. Please do not waste the time of the House. Nothing should be recorded except the speech of Shri Ananth Kumar.

(Interruptions)\*

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\* Not recorded

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR (BANGALORE SOUTH): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Statutory Resolution moved by Shri Shivraj Patil, the hon. Minister of Home Affairs. Because he has also assured the august House that as soon as the House approves the Presidential Proclamation of 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2007, the Vidhan Sabha of Karnataka will be dissolved and elections will be held. I AM also urging at the outset that the people of Karnataka want the dissolution of the Assembly and immediate conduction of elections to Karnataka Vidhan Sabha because we feel that is the only answer in the present political situation.

Sir, it is unfortunate that from 2<sup>nd</sup> October onwards, in the last one-and-a-half months, Karnataka's name and legacy have been marred by the politics of betrayal by the JD (S) especially from hon. former Prime Minister Shri Deve Gowdaji and former Chief Minister of Karnataka Shri Kumaraswamy and their partymen.[\[k39\]](#)

Actually, I want to take this House to some of the events. As already put forth by hon. Home Minister, in 2004, we had the Assembly elections in which the Congress was rejected by the people, the electorate of Karnataka, and BJP and JD(U) got 84 seats in an Assembly of 224. BJP got 79 seats and JD(U) got 5 seats. The Congress Party, which was having 150 seats in the previous Assembly, was sliced down to 65 only and JD(S) got 58 seats. The *janadesh*, the mandate of people of Karnataka in 2004 was very clear that they wanted a non-Congress Government with BJP heading it and the non-Congress parties supporting it, but unfortunately, Shri Deve Gowda and JD(S) committed the first betrayal on the people of Karnataka. They did not respect this mandate of the people because during the run up to the 2004 Assembly elections, Shri Deve Gowda and JD(S) continuously went hammer and tongue against the Congress Party and got 58 seats on account of anti-Congress votes. But instead of coming with BJP and forming a non-Congress coalition, in the name of pseudo-secularism, Shri Deve Gowda joined the Congress Party and supported the Congress Party.

At this moment, I also want to bring to the kind notice of this august House that in 1983, 18 members of BJP Legislature Party supported Shri Ramakrishna Hegde of then Janata Party in which Shri Deve Gowda was part and parcel, and not only was he part and parcel, Shri Deve Gowda was the PWD Minister. Through this august House and through you, I want to ask Shri Deve Gowda how come he threw to wind in 1983 his pseudo-secular principle. We also want to know what happened in 1989 when Shri V.P. Singh formed a Government at the Centre which was supported by all of us, by BJP also. Where was Shri Deve Gowda then and where were his so-called secular principles? I think, in 2004, raising the bogey of pseudo-secularism, Shri Deve Gowda and JD(S) committed the first betrayal on the people of Karnataka.

Then, we come to 2006. In 2006, the entire Janata Dal (S), 39 MLAs of JD(S), as put forth by the hon. Home Minister, withdrew their support to the then Congress Government headed by Shri Dharam Singh and supported BJP. The BJP and JD(S) together formed the Government, I think, which was according to the aspirations and mandate of the people of Karnataka. Actually I want to place on record what was the situation according to the first interim report of the Government sent to *Rashtrapatiji* on 6<sup>th</sup> October. I quote :

"In January 2006, 39 MLAs from the Janata Dal (S) withdrew support to Shri Dharam Singh led coalition government and entered into an alliance with Bharatiya Janata Party to stake claim to form a coalition government headed by Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy. Individual letters were handed over to the Governor from the State Party Leaders and from the members of the Legislative Assembly. A copy of the resolution of withdrawal of support was also given to the then Governor.

Shri H.D. Deve Gowda, the former Prime Minister and All India President of Janata Dal (S) wrote to my predecessor, that is, Shri T.N. Chaturvedi urging him not to recognise this break away group of JD(S) and requesting him to recognise Shri Dharam Singh only as the Chief Minister. Subsequently, however Shri H.D. Deve Gowda has reconciled with his son and Chief Minister, Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy and now he is strongly backing him.[\[s40\]](#)"

This is the report given by the hon. Governor. It means that they solemnly agreed to the arrangement with the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) that for the first 20 months Shri H. D. Kumaraswamy will be the Chief Minister and then our leader Shri B.

S. Yeddyurappa should be the leader and the Chief Minister. They even agreed regarding the division of portfolios, and exchange of portfolios.

Unfortunately, on October 2, 2007, Shri H. D. Devegowda and his JD(S) once again committed the betrayal on the people of Karnataka as they were not ready to transfer power as agreed and promised. Actually, I remember one *doha* from *Thulasi Ramayan* :

"रघुकुल रीत सदा चली आई,

प्राण जाए पर वचन न जाई। "

This has been the culture of this country. ...(*Interruptions*)

**श्री मोहन सिंह (देवरिया)** : यह रघुवीर के बारे में नहीं, देवेगौड़ा जी के बारे में है?

**श्री अनंत कुमार** : यह देवेगौड़ा जी की प्रशंसा की सिचुएशन नहीं है।

We are having coalitions with BJD in Orissa; JD(U) in Bihar; Shiv Sena in Maharashtra; Shiromani Akali Dal in Punjab, and all these coalitions are sustaining there strongly from the last 10-20 years. But Shri Devegowda, a senior politician and former Prime Minister of this country, broke the promise given to the people and to the BJP on October 02 for the sake of sheer opportunism, and for the sake of lust of power and continuing his son in the Chief Ministerial position. Why am I taking October 02? October 02 is the anniversary of the founding father of the nation, namely, Mahatma Gandhi.

There were many cartoons and many things going around in the entire country. Actually, I want to narrate one of the cartoons issued by the Times of India during that period. It depicted a thousand rupee note with the picture of Shri Devegowda instead of the picture of Mahatma Gandhi; it mentioned the Central Bank of JD (S) instead of the Reserve Bank of India; and it said : "I do not promise to pay thousand rupees to the bearer" instead of "I promise to pay thousand rupees to the bearer". This was the cartoon going around regarding Shri Devegowda, and it was the third betrayal.

Thereafter, we went on a 'Dharma Yatra' throughout the State of Karnataka, and we also wanted dissolution of the House. But on 27<sup>th</sup>, Shri Devegowda and his son Shri Kumaraswamy came back and said that they will support BJP. On 27<sup>th</sup>, Shri H. D. Kumaraswamy, Leader of the Legislative Party of JD (S) wrote a letter to the Governor saying that :

"The Janata Dal (Secular) Party is supporting the BJP in forming the Government in Karnataka. The two Parties, JD (S) and the BJP, together have absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly. We, therefore, request you to immediately call Shri B. S. Yeddyurappa, the Leader of the BJP to form the Government in the State, and thereafter, convene the State Legislative Assembly to have a floor test."

He was ready to support the BJP for the floor test -- as held by the hon. Supreme Court in the S. R. Bommai's case -- on the floor of the Legislative Assembly. Shri N. Merajuddin Patel, the State President of JD(S) in Karnataka also wrote a similar letter to the Governor. Thereafter, on 27<sup>th</sup> itself we staked claim to form the Government.[\[r41\]](#)

Shri Yeddyurappa was elected as the Leader of the Joint Legislative Party of both Bharatiya Janata Party and JD(S) comprising of 129 MLAs. All the 129 MLAs went to Raj Bhawan on 29<sup>th</sup> in the afternoon. Here, I want to draw the attention of the august House towards the fact that all of them, on affidavit, gave an individual letter to the Governor of Karnataka saying that each one of the JD(S) MLAs, the entire JD(S) Legislature Party, is supporting Bharatiya Janata Party unconditionally to form the Government. That happened on the 29<sup>th</sup>.

Later, I want to read this because it is a very important thing, Shri Devegowda came out with many conditions – first with 12 conditions, then he said that they were not conditions but suggestions; then, he came out with 21 conditions; then, he said that the conditions should be written on a paper; then, he said the conditions should not only be written on a paper, but must be written on a Stamp Paper, as if it was a real estate property transaction unheard of in the annals of democracy of this country.

Sir, this is the letter written by Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy, Leader of the Legislature Party, JD (S), Karnataka Legislative Assembly. He wrote the letter to the President of India; the letter was given to the President of India.

Sir, I will be taking a few more minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We have allotted one-and-a-half hours for this debate.

अनंत कुमार जी, आपकी पार्टी के चार मेम्बर और बोलने वाले हैं और मेरे पास 21 मिनट आपकी पार्टी के हैं।

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : All our Members agree that I will speak on behalf of them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please be brief.

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, he gave a letter to Her Excellency the President of India stating that 49 MLAs of JD(S) Legislature Party declaring their unconditional support to BJP and Janata Dal coalition Government under the leadership of Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa. The affidavits are filed before the Notary. If somebody jumps the affidavit or files a false affidavit, that itself is a crime. Here, the affidavits were filed not only before a Notary, but also before the Governor of Karnataka, and the same has been informed to Rashtrapatiiji.

Now, after filing such affidavits declaring unconditional support to Shri Yeddyurappa, the former Prime Minister of this country and the former Chief Minister of Karnataka throws it to the winds and issues a Whip on the day of the floor test stating that they were no longer supporting Yeddyurappa's Chief Ministership.

Actually, on 27<sup>th</sup> October, when JD(S) representatives came to us, we were having three questions. One was whether Shri Devegowda had agreed to this and whether he has authorized the JD(S), Karnataka, to have a truck or alliance with Bharatiya Janata Party. That was the first question. The second question was whether the support was unconditional because 20 months back, we had an honourable agreement that for 20 months, the Chief Minister would be from the JD(S), and for another 20 months, the Chief Minister would be from the Bharatiya Janata Party. Even the distribution of the Cabinet posts, portfolios and everything was on board. It was transparent to the five-and-a-half crore people of Karnataka. Therefore, we put the second question to JD(S) as to whether the support was unconditional. The third question was whether they would abide fully by the agreement arrived at between the two parties in February, 2006. The reply of Shri Kumaraswamy, Shri Mirajuddin Patel and Shri Devegowda on 27<sup>th</sup> was a categorical "yes". They said that as the National President of JD(S), Shri Devegowda was for this unconditional support, and Shri Kumaraswamy and Shri Mirajuddin Patel followed the suit. [\[r42\]](#)

Not only that, in the Kumarakrupa Guesthouse of Bangalore they said that they should sit there and not go out till the talks were finalised and we reached the Governor together with the support letters of leaders. The reason they gave for that was that the Congress party was trying to split their party. When Mirajuddin Patel and Kumaraswamy themselves were giving their letters of support to the Governor, when all the 49 JD(S) MLAs and their supporters were giving affidavits, sworn affidavits and letters addressed to the Governor Karnataka supporting Shri Yeddyurappa, we thought to ourselves that we would consult our national leadership and give a chance to the situation. Actually Shri Deve Gowda himself spoke to Shri Rajnath Singh our national President and assured him that they were giving unconditional support and that they were going to the Governor and to the Rashtrapatiiji.

After three hours, our central leadership gave us permission to go ahead. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of October, after electing Shri Yeddyurappa as the leader of the Joint Legislature Party, all the 129 MLAs, especially 49 MLAs lead by Shri Kumaraswami, met the hon. Governor of Karnataka and submitted the letter of unconditional support. Then there was a delay - I want to place it on record in the hon. House. According to the recent judgement of the hon. Supreme Court in Bihar Assembly dissolution case, when the numbers are there no Union Government can dissolve the legislature and the leader who has got support of largest number of members should be called to form the Government. Therefore, we came and met the hon. Prime Minister of India and urged on him to revoke the Presidential rule and suspended animation of Karnataka and to call Shri Yeddyurappa to form the Government in Karnataka. Shri Advani, Shri Rajnath Singh, Shri Venkaiah Naidu and all the BJP MPs of Karnataka met the Prime Minister of India, along with the Home Minister of India.

On 7<sup>th</sup> November we went to Rashtrapati Bhavan with all the 129 MLAs, again with Shri Kumaraswamy the leader of the Legislative Group of Janata Dal (S) and his letter to Rashtrapatiiji saying that they give unconditional support to the Bharatiya Janata Party and to the legislature party leadership of Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa. We met Mahamahim Rashtrapatiiji with all those documents. After all this is done, on 12<sup>th</sup> November, the Presidential proclamation was revoked, swearing in was decided, and Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Karnataka. Floor test was slated for 19<sup>th</sup>.

Surprisingly, in the meanwhile, both Shri Kumaraswamy and Shri Deve Gowda, especially Shri Deve Gowda, started with his 12 points and then went on to 21 points. It is most unfortunate. It does not befit the stature and political experience of Shri Deve Gowda to do this. The common man in Karnataka and in the entire country is having a big doubt about the credibility of politicians because of the behaviour of Shri Deve Gowda and his party JD(S). They all call it as *Vachana Brashtata*. They

have betrayed the people of Karnataka; they have dishonoured the word given.

They insisted upon retaining the portfolios of PWD, Power, Mines and Geology, Urban Development and Bangalore Development Authority. It is quite obvious why they wanted to retain those things. I do not want to go into details about it. The first time, in 2004 they broke the solemn promise given to the people of Karnataka on the basis of pseudo-secularism. Second time, on October 2, on the sacred day of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, they broke their word after his son Shri Kumaraswamy served as Chief Minister for 20 months. [\[KMR43\]](#)

For the third time we were very careful. Hon. Law Minister is here. We trusted the written and sworn words. We trusted the written and sworn affidavits of 49 MLAs of Devegowdaji and Kumaraswamyji and again they have betrayed. I want to say through this august House that the JD(S) cannot be trusted at all. It is totally untrustworthy. The only language the JD(S) and Devegowdaji know is betrayal. ...*(Interruptions)* I am coming to the end.

They have betrayed the people; they have betrayed the democracy; they have betrayed the people of Karnataka. I do not want to go into much of the detail. In between those 20 months of Kumaraswami's regime, there were very peculiar statements made by Devegowdaji. Actually, Kumaraswamyji has made a statement that he would step down on 3<sup>rd</sup> October. Devegowdaji said: "Media had been accused of creating confusion for 10 months. I have never said that power transfer is impossible." The former Prime Minister and the JD(Secular) President, Shri H.D. Devegowda has stated that he has asked his son to extend his stay. Shri Devegowda addressed the Press persons here on Sunday that the media had been creating confusion on the issue for the past 10 months. He was critical about the coverage of the media of his programme. He stated: I never said that transfer of power to BJP is impossible. I only said that there is still time to think about it." Why is this dilly dally? One day he said that he is going to transfer the power; the other day, he said that he is not going to transfer the power. He went on like this.

I also want to say that he said: "My relationship with the Left became strained because of the BJP alliance. I must be grateful to the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), Shri Prakash Karat, who told Mrs. Gandhi on her face that he was responsible for humiliating Devegowdaji." For that, the rejoinder was: "Devegowdaji is an opportunist." Shri Yechury terming the former Prime Minister, Shri Devegowda as an opportunist. The CPI(M) leader, Shri Yechury today sharply criticized the JD(S) for joining hands with us. Why am I telling all these things is that today Devegowdaji and JD(S) have betrayed the people of Karnataka; they have betrayed the democracy; they have betrayed the entire political fabric of the country.

Therefore, I urge that we should now go to the people. I welcome that the hon. Home Minister has brought this Statutory Resolution for ratification of the Proclamation of the President's Order on 20<sup>th</sup> and he has also assured the House that immediately the Vidhan Sabha of Karnataka would be dissolved. I would like to also urge the hon. Home Minister and the Union Government that the elections should be held forthwith in Karnataka. People will give their mandate; they will reject the JD(S) lock, stock and barrel. They have already tried the Congress Party; they are going to give full majority for the BJP this time for a stable and good Government in Karnataka.

SHRIMATI TEJASWINI GOWDA (KANAKAPURA): Thank you, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir. I am seeking your permission to speak from here. I would like to know as to how time you have allotted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have very little time with me. I have many speakers in the list. So, please be brief in your speech.

SHRIMATI TEJASWINI GOWDA : While standing in this august House, it is a painful moment to protect democracy of this country. We are going to end a democratic Government in Karnataka for no fault of people, who elected this popular Government in Karnataka or the MLAs. Coalition politics is an inevitable process of our time – whether at the Centre or in the States. [\[r44\]](#)

Now we are used to the coalition politics. Based on our ideology, based on our principles, based on our secular values, all the parties are having a freedom to choose a political group. Earlier, with this sort of a coalition, the NDA ruled the nation, now the UPA is running the nation.

Coming back to the history, Karnataka people and the Karnataka Government always protected the secular and democratic values. This time, the people of Karnataka failed to elect a single democratic party to form the Government. That is why, we were forced to enter into a coalition Government. Earlier, the Congress Chief Minister, Dharam Singh, with the support of JD (S) ruled Karnataka for 20 months.

While standing here, to put an end to the Government in Karnataka, with a heavy heart, we are speaking for the dissolution of the Karnataka Assembly. Whose fault is it? Many young MLAs were chosen to the Assembly with great hard work; they were from poor background. Many such people faced the election and came out victorious.

Today, people were not encouraging, people are not respecting; it is a very difficult time that we are facing. We are not able to say that we are politicians of Indian nation. Often and often we are having elections. Why are we causing losses to the exchequer of this poor nation, when we are having many issues to be addressed and why should we spend money often on elections? People are not appreciating this. This applies to every political party; we should be very careful in this.

You may please go through the exposure of the electronic media in the last one month. We have stooped to such a low level that everybody is making fun of the politicians and political parties. Who encouraged this type of politics? When we lost the Dharam Singh's Government in Karnataka, who conducted the 'night time guest house' politics? Who conducted the conspiracy to end the democratic Government? Who had shown the Chief Minister's chair to Shri Kumaraswamy? Who extended political support to make him the Chief Minister, while ending the secular Government of the Congress?

What moral right my friends are having from the BJP side? What moral right my friends from the JD (S) are having today to criticize the Congress? Many times, they brought the name of Mrs. Gandhi. We have allowed them every possible opportunity to form the Government in Karnataka; but within no time, they organized so many protests; they criticized every leader. When my leader Mrs. Sonia Gandhi attended some programme in China, they did not even spare her. We have not brought the great leader Shri Vajpayee's name; we have not taken another respected leader, Shri L K Advani's name. But they have done it. For that, the people of Karnataka and the people of India will never excuse and no politician should ever stoop down to that level.

I am from Karnataka; I am not basically from the political family. Personally I have a lot of respect for Shri Devegowda. He is a farmer who rose to the highest post of the Prime Minister of this country. When Shri Devegowda allowed his son Shri Kumaraswamy to become the Chief Minister with the support of BJP, if he is really committed, if he is really committed to the secular values, if he can prevent BJP from forming the Government today, why did he not prevent the Government headed by Shri Kumaraswamy, which was with the support of BJP at that time? We would like to ask that question. I am confused; in every media, so many definitions are given and so many statements are made; why were they misleading? If I am confused and if I am mislead, how to lead the younger generation of this country, how to lead the farmers, how to lead the innocent people of this country? Nobody will believe that; no political party will believe. How to correct it? How to bring stable Governments in the States and at the Centre?

When I rise to support the Proclamation of the President, under article 356 of the Constitution, the Congress Party knows the values of democracy. [\[MSOffice45\]](#)

The Congress Party has always supported installation of democratic governments all over the world. As a leader of NAM, we cannot forget the contributions made by Jawaharlal Nehru or Shrimati Indira Gandhi. We fought for our Independence. We know the values of democracy. Today, we must expose the culprits. In my view, both the BJP and JD(S) have removed their masks. They were given every opportunity. Nobody asked them to prove their strength in front of the President but they came here. Hon. President gave them the full opportunity. The Central Government has never misused its power and with honour gave them the full opportunity. In this regard I would like to congratulate the UPA Government and the Home Minister. I would like to pay my respect to Rashtrapati ji.

I cannot forget the type of documentary that was being shown in 'E' TV. In one of the TV channels 'Sarkar' in Karnataka under 'Jhalak' a song used to play everyday on the political development. It became a part of the popular fun. It is very difficult for us to answer MLAs who are asking what crime they have done for which they must face another election. I am for the earlier election because there is no alternative left for us. But in the month of March-April, we have exams for the children. Sir, they do not realise the amount of money, energy and struggle that go in to bring fresh Government.

I would also like to suggest that all the decisions taken in the last three months by the out-going Government should be re-looked because there was no mutual faith between BJP and JD(S). In the interest of the people of Karnataka all the administrative decisions taken by the Karnataka Government in the last three months should be re-looked.

**श्री मोहन सिंह** : महोदय, माननीय मंत्री जी ॐ \*

SHRIMATI TEJASWINI GOWDA : I would also like to urge the Governor's Office in Karnataka to set right the house now. A number of developmental works have stopped. We have to address to the grievances of the people of Karnataka. To restore the faith of the people of Karnataka in democracy, we should conduct free and fair elections. While doing so we should prevent indiscipline of any sort. In future, we should not encourage this type of 'Jugalbandi' or political drama. We should always guard the dignity of the highest Office.



My elder brother Shri Ananth Kumar is a senior politician. We have exposed our friends in two ways. They do not have faith in their strength. They had the strength. They had got 80 seats. I was shocked to see them losing power. How could they think of going for elections? Secondly, they are strong believers of Rama. So, I thought they would sacrifice the power for six months, face the elections and then come back to power. They have exhibited their hunger for power. Whenever required, JD(S) has used the word secularism for its convenience. I think, they cannot further mislead the people of Karnataka. We realise the pain of every MLA who has today lost his membership for no fault of his. We all are a part of this crime as we are forcing fresh elections on the people of Karnataka but still there is no option left before the Rashtrapati ji. Therefore, the best thing would be to conduct free and fair elections preferably after the school and college examinations are over [\[R46\]](#).

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\* Not recorded

It will be very much advisable not to cause another havoc in Karnataka. As soon as possible, please conduct the elections in a proper manner.

With these words, I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI VARKALA RADHAKRISHNAN : Sir, I am taking part in a discussion wherein there is no choice left to me but to approve the Resolution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Is it your seat? What is your seat number?

SHRI VARKALA RADHAKRISHNAN : Do you want me to go to my seat?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Yes. You should go to your seat and speak from there.

SHRI VARKALA RADHAKRISHNAN : All right.

There is a provision in our Constitution for dealing with emergency powers. Now article 356 is to deal with emergency in a state as given in the Constitution. The founding fathers of the Constitution were thinking of a situation when there will be only one party system in our country. With all powerful Congress Party which led the freedom movement, they were under the impression that Indian parliamentary democracy will be a one party affair. Hence whenever there is any failure of the Constitution machinery, the Central Government can intervene, dissolve the Ministry and impose the President's rule. That is the position. Now our parliamentary democracy has developed to such an extent that multi-party system and coalition Government is the order of the day even at the Centre. In the States also, it is like that. There cannot be any such situation when there will be one party rule in our country. When multi-party system is flourishing in parliamentary democracy, we will have to evolve certain ethics so that the federal system also gets strengthened. We are following the federal system of Government. So, in order to strengthen the federal system in a multi-party parliamentary democracy, will this article 356 be sustainable, that is the moot point.

Now I would like to submit that this matter had been elaborately discussed by the Sarkaria Commission. They had taken many evidences also. Now in the past 60 years, the Central Government had dissolved many governments in the States. The Sarkaria Commission had dealt with it and had expressed its opinion that it was misused. For hundred times it was misused against the State governments. For political expediency, the Central Government was misusing article 356. That is the history of our country. That has been expressly covered by the Sarkaria Commission. So, what should we do? The Supreme Court also looked into this matter. They have also suggested that such a system is not tenable in a multi-party system or in a country where federalism is prevailing. Recently, we had an international conference on federalism. I was invited to that Conference. As a Member of this Parliament, I attended that Conference. From all over the world, the federal countries were represented in that Conference. Our Prime Minister inaugurated that Conference. A discussion was held about this aspect of federalism. Now what federal structure is prevailing in our country? [\[R47\]](#)

We will have to think over it. I belong to a State where the provisions of article 356 were invoked for the first time when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was at the helm of affairs at the Centre. It was used for the purpose of dissolving the Kerala Assembly. There was no constitutional failure then. Failure of Constitutional machinery means that the functions of the Government cannot be run through the Assembly. When a party is having a majority in the Assembly, then this article 356 cannot be invoked. But at that time -- even though the party was having full majority in the House and EMS Namboodripad was governing the State under the provisions of the Constitution -- on the pretext of failure of law and order, the Centre intervened and article 356 was invoked. This will go down as a bad chapter in the history of Indian Parliamentary system. The day was 31<sup>st</sup> of July, 1959. This will remain as a black chapter and nobody can justify this. Now, even if there was a failure of law and order in the State, the Central Government was bound to come to the rescue of the State. That is what the federal structure is all about.

Sir, recently we had a discussion in the House on the incidents of Nandigram in West Bengal. Twice there was firing in the area and people started demanding that the Centre should intervene because the law and order situation in the State has failed. No, that was not the right demand because the Central Government can intervene only when there is a failure of constitutional machinery in a State. When the ruling party is having a majority in the House no authority can intervene in its affairs. But what did they do? For reasons of political expediency whenever there is trouble in Nandigram, the Centre should intervene. How can the Central Government do so? There is no failure of constitutional machinery in the State. In 1959 when the EMS Ministry was brought down by invoking the provisions of article 356, there was no failure of constitutional machinery. For argument's sake it may be said that there is failure of law and order. But if there is deterioration in the law and order situation of the State, then it is the bounden duty of the Central Government to come to the rescue of the State Government. That is the real spirit of federalism. That is what we were discussing last week in this House. But unfortunately, in India, we are misusing it for political purposes. One must realise the tragedy of the incident when the Kerala Ministry was dismissed in 1959. The post of the Speaker of the Assembly was abolished in 1959 and the Assembly could not have functioned in the absence of the post of a Speaker. Now we developed to such an extent that we have brought in a new nomenclature to say that the Assembly is kept in suspended animation. Nowhere there is a provision in the Constitution where an Assembly of a State could be kept in suspended animation. It is only an interpretation. There is no bar also. The Central Government decided to keep the Assembly in suspended animation. For what purpose was it done? It was done only to give the MLAs an opportunity for horse trading. This is what happened in Karnataka.

What was the natural course for the Central Government when the Kumaraswamy Government fell in the State? They did not think of dissolving the Assembly and instead gave a chance to the MLAs of the Karnataka Assembly for horse trading. The JD (S) thought of joining hands with the BJP to form a Ministry. The BJP was overjoyed to have the opportunity to share power in this Southern State. Now, both the parties had their own intentions. I am not concerned and I also do not know as to what transpired between them. The BJP withdrew support. Shri Kumaraswamy had to resign. What could the Central Government have done in that scenario? They should have dissolved the Ministry. But instead of doing that they kept the Assembly in abeyance. The MLAs of the JD(S) party started the murmur that they could not have faced an election at this stage and so the Assembly must have to be revived. [R48]

They came to such a situation. It has created a very ugly situation in recent parliamentary experience in the State of Karnataka. People for their own purposes come together for sharing power. Such a very ugly drama was enacted in that State in the name of Parliamentary democracy. What was the basis for that? It was because the Central Government decided to keep the Assembly in suspended animation. If the Assembly had been dissolved, then such a situation would not have arisen. But that was not done. Keeping any Assembly under suspended animation means giving scope for horse trading, giving the MLAs the opportunity for floor crossing. Nothing else is achieved by that. That is what happened in Karnataka.

Now, when we look at the discussion we had we can find one thing very clearly. It is really a post-mortem affair. Based on the report of the Sarkaria Commission the Supreme Court ruled that imposition of President's Rule in any State would have to be approved by the Parliament. There has been an amendment made in the Constitution also that the imposition of President's Rule has to be approved by the Parliament. But I am of the opinion that article 356 should be scrapped from the Constitution. If anybody is very particular of having it, then it must be amended in such a way that before dissolving any Ministry by invoking article 356, the prior approval of the Parliament would have to be obtained. The Central Government should bring in a Statutory Resolution seeking the prior approval of the Parliament before dissolving any Ministry. It should not just seek the approval. They themselves should not take the decision. For invoking article 356 prior approval of the Parliament should be essential. The Supreme Court also has given this ruling. But can we implement it? Is it not necessary? My point is that the prior approval of the Parliament should be sought before invoking the provisions of article 356 for dissolving any Ministry. That is the correct procedure. But here what is being done is first dissolving the Ministry, then keeping it under suspended animation and then again re-invoking it and things like that. It could have been easily done by seeking the permission of the Parliament. When Shri Kumaraswamy had resigned, the Parliament was in Session. Our hon. Home Minister could have brought in a Statutory Resolution for seeking the permission of the House saying that the Government wanted to invoke the provisions of article 356 in Karnataka. What was the difficulty? There would have been democratic strength behind such an action. He could have brought such a Resolution to the House. Now after having imposed THE President's Rule and allowing for all nasty things to happen, he has come to this House with a Statutory Resolution saying that we must give our seal of approval to this action. It is very unfair and is uncalled for and I do not agree to this. Hereafter the Government should make it a point that whenever they wanted to dissolve a Government by invoking the provisions of article 356, they must first come to the House. [R49]

**15.00 hrs.**

You should move a Statutory Resolution...(*Interruptions*) You should come to the House and move a Statutory Resolution seeking the permission of the House to dissolve a Ministry especially when a coalition Government is in power at the Centre as well as in the States. That is the only remedy available at present before us.

So, I once again appeal to you not to come to this House under such a situation. You should seek our prior permission. We will grant it or we will reject it according to the circumstances available in each and every case. So, I would request the hon. Home Minister to move such a Resolution in future. The hon. Law Minister is also present here. You should bring forward an amendment to the Constitution whereby you should invoke article 356 only on the basis of an approval granted by the Parliament.

With these words, I conclude.

**श्री मोहन सिंह (देवरिया) :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, राधाकृष्णन जी हमारे सम्मानित साथी हैं और देवेगौडा जी की तरह इनका भी किसी से एग्रीमेंट रहता नहीं है। हमारा इस सरकार से एग्रीमेंट है, क्योंकि गृह मंत्री जी ने, इस सदन के सामने जो दस्तावेज पेश किया है, वह भारतीय राजनीति के अवसरवाद का एक खूबसूरत काव्यात्मक दस्तावेज है। मैं समझता हूँ कि भारत के संविधान निर्माताओं ने ऐसी ही परिस्थिति पैदा होने पर केन्द्रीय हस्तक्षेप आवश्यक मानकर अनुच्छेद 356 का प्रावधान भारत के संविधान में किया था। इसलिए गृह मंत्री जी द्वारा रखे गये प्रस्ताव का न केवल मैं समर्थन करता हूँ बल्कि इनसे आग्रह भी करता हूँ कि कर्नाटक की विधान सभा को शीघ्रतिशीघ्र भंग कर, वहाँ नयी निर्वाचित सरकार गठित कराने के प्रयास भारत सरकार की ओर से होने चाहिए।

कर्नाटक ऐसा खूबसूरत राज्य है, जिसमें कला, साहित्य, संगीत के साथ-साथ, भारत की राजनीति को प्रभावित करने वाली, एक समृद्ध राजनैतिक परम्परा रही है। जिस राज्य ने निजलिंगप्पा जैसा महान व्यक्ति पैदा किया, बीडी जत्ती और रामकृष्ण हेगड़े जैसे लोग जहाँ हुए, देवराज अर्स जैसे महान नेता जहाँ हुए, एसआर बोम्मई और न जाने कितने महान व्यक्ति हुए, लेकिन देवेगौडा जी का नाम भी बाद में स्मरण करना ही पड़ेगा। इस राज्य ने लम्बे समय तक भारत की राजनीति को बहुत अच्छे ढंग से प्रभावित किया। देवेगौडा जी को मैं 1977 से जानता हूँ, जब वे कर्नाटक जनता पार्टी के अध्यक्ष थे और मुझे उत्तर प्रदेश जनता पार्टी का महामंत्री, बहुत कम उम्र में, माननीय चन्द्रशेखर जी ने बनाया था। मुझे जनता पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष का टेलीफोन आया कि माननीय देवेगौडा जी कर्नाटक पार्टी के अध्यक्ष हैं और ये लखनऊ जा रहे हैं इन्हें आपको प्रयागराज में स्नान कराना है और उत्तर प्रदेश के जितने तीर्थ हैं उनके दर्शन कराने हैं। मैं उनको लेकर वाराणसी, काशी-विश्वनाथ के दर्शन और त्रिवेणी संगम पर स्नान कराने ले गया। हनुमान जी को उन्होंने साष्टांग दंडवत इतनी जोर से किया जितनी जोर से दंडवत करते मैंने बहुत कम लोगों को देखा है। लेकिन इधर जो कर्नाटक में घटनाएं हुईं, उनसे मैं इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचा कि इस धरती के राजनैतिक प्राणियों में केवल देवेगौडा जी ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं, जिन्हें हनुमान जी में विश्वास होने के बावजूद भगवान से डर नहीं लगता। सारी चीजों की एक पराकाष्ठा होती है और उनके द्वारा उस पराकाष्ठा पर वहाँ की राजनीति को पहुंचा दिया गया। उनकी पार्टी का नाम है जद(एस)। ये एक पार्टी पर लगातार आरोपित करते रहे, हमला करते रहे कि वह नॉन-सेक्युलर पार्टी है। [150]

हमारा सैक्युलरिज्म के प्रति किसी से भी ज्यादा कंफर्म कमिटेमेंट है, जो इस देश में किसी और का नहीं है, और इसी पार्टी के साथ सौदा कर लेना कि तुम्हारे साथ रहना है, गले मिलना है, इस पार्टी को बहुत शीघ्रता थी कि दक्षिण के एक राज्य में हमारी पार्टी का एक व्यक्ति मुख्यमंत्री की कुर्सी पर बैठ जाए। इसलिए हमें इस बात की चिंता नहीं है कि बीस महीने किसके साथ रहे, किसके दरबार में रहे और किसके साथ समझौता करना चाहते थे। बस इतना पता था कि अगर हमें किन्हीं परिस्थितियों में मुख्यमंत्री बना देते हैं, तो बहुत ही अच्छे व्यक्ति हैं। उनके इतिहास को जानते हुए भी, भारतीय जनता पार्टी ने बाद में कहना शुरू किया कि हमारे साथ धोखा हुआ है। उनके राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष का हमने बयान जब अखबार में पढ़ा कि हमारे साथ धोखा हुआ है, तो मैं बहुत चिंतित हुआ कि राजनीति में दूर की दृष्टि न रखने वाले लोग राजनीतिक दलों में कितने बड़े-बड़े पदों पर पहुंच जाते हैं और जानते हुए भी कि इस व्यक्ति का इतिहास ही धोखा देने वाला है, आप समझते हों कि यह धोखा देने के अलावा कुछ नहीं करता है और फिर भी समझौता कर लें तथा धोखा होने पर कहें कि मेरे साथ बहुत बड़ा धोखा हुआ है, तो मैं उस व्यक्ति को उलाहना देने के बजाय ऐसे लोगों के चिंतन पर ही अफसोस करता हूँ, क्यों इस तरह के लोगों के ऊपर वे विश्वास कर लेते हैं।

पिछले ढाई-तीन वर्षों से कर्नाटक में जो घटनाएं हुई हैं, मैं उनसे बहुत व्यथित हुआ, बहुत चिंतित हुआ कि इस देश की जनता किस राजनीतिक दल और किस राजनीतिक व्यक्ति के ऊपर विश्वास करे। एक व्यक्ति का सवाल नहीं है। राजनीतिक नेतृत्व, नेताओं और राजनीतिक दलों के प्रति जब जनता का विश्वास खत्म हो जाएगा, तब मुशर्रफ साहब इमरजेंसी हमारे पड़ोस में लगा ही रहे हैं, हमारे आस-पास किसी भी देश में लोकतंत्र नहीं है। इस पूरे टापू में, हिंदुस्तान एक पौधा जिंदा करके, इसके पुष्प की सुगंध सारे देशों में फैला कर, इस भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में हम लोकतंत्र का पुष्प पैदा करना चाहते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में जब हमारा आचरण इस तरह का होगा, तो लोकतंत्र के प्रति सचमुच श्रद्धा अपने आस-पास के देशों में ही नहीं, बल्कि अपने देश में भी होनी नामुमकिन है। इसलिए यह प्रश्न केवल एक राज्य का नहीं है।

भारत की राजनीति किस तरह से विचलित हो रही है, इसके बारे में चिंता करने का सबसे बड़ा अवसर पिछले ढाई महीनों की कर्नाटक की राजनीति ने हमें दिया है। सही समय पर गृह मंत्री ने सही निर्णय लिया। जब इन्होंने पहले उसे निलम्बित किया था, तो

विधानसभा भंग करने का फैसला इन्हें पहले ही ले लेना चाहिए था। आप शायद इस बात के इंतजार में थे कि कुछ लोग जाएं और कहें कि हम सरकार बनाना चाहते हैं तथा लम्बी दूरी तय करनी है। इस विश्वास में आकर भारत सरकार ने नए सिरे से वहां की विधान सभा को ज़िंदा किया। आज की तारीख में जब कभी भी राष्ट्रपति शासन किसी राज्य में लागू होता है, तो वर्ष 1991 से अब तक, एक बार ऐसी घटना हुई थी, जब मैंने राष्ट्रपति शासन का पुरजोर समर्थन किया था, बाबरी मस्जिद डिमोलिशन के बाद, जब चार राज्यों की सरकारें हटी थीं। तब के बाद आज मैं फिर राष्ट्रपति शासन का अनुमोदन करने का न केवल सदन से आग्रह करता हूँ, बल्कि गृह मंत्री जी से आग्रह करता हूँ कि दो कदम और आगे बढ़ें, क्योंकि सुप्रीम कोर्ट के इस संबंध में कई निर्णय हैं। बोम्मई साहब के मामले में कर्नाटक की सरकार को भारत सरकार ने बर्खास्त कर दिया था। इस निर्णय को लैण्ड- मार्क डिसीजन के रूप में देखा जाता है। लेकिन उसमें जो कुछ कमियां थीं, उनको बिहार के केस में पूरा कर दिया था। अब भारत सरकार के पास बहुत सीमित ऑप्शन रह गए हैं, जैसा हमारे एक मित्र कह रहे थे कि अनुच्छेद 356 का केवल दुरुपयोग होता है और इसको संविधान से निकाल दिया जाना चाहिए। मैं इसका इतना बड़ा समर्थक नहीं हूँ क्योंकि उनके अंदर तो रोष है वर्ष 1959 का, जब पहली इस देश में अनुच्छेद 356 का प्रयोग हुआ था। मेरा ऐसा मानना है कि वह दुरुपयोग था, लेकिन उसी दुरुपयोग को पेट में रखना और बाद में जो घटनाएं हुईं, जिनमें अनुच्छेद 356 का इस्तेमाल कई सवालों पर आवश्यक था, उनको इग्नोर करना सही नहीं है। एक संबंधित लिस्ट हमें रखनी चाहिए। कर्नाटक की आज की जो घटना है, वह इस बात को सिद्ध करती है कि अनुच्छेद 356 का प्रयोग कुछ परिस्थितियों में जायज़ होता है और उसकी उपस्थिति को जायज़ ठहराने के लिए वहां की एसेम्बली को भंग कर दिया जाना चाहिए। धन्यवाद

SHRI B. MAHTAB (CUTTACK): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the Resolution regarding the Proclamation issued by the hon. President of India on the 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2007 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Karnataka.

I would just begin from the point which my predecessor had just mentioned about article 356 being imposed on respective State Governments. Article 356 has become a bone of contention for the last 30 to 35 years and even the first episode of 1959 is also being referred to now. But since mid 1960s or early 1970s article 356 has been used politically and the majority of the regional parties are opposed to article 356 including the CPI (M). The Akali Dal is one of the proponents of removal of article 356, so also the DMK and many other regional parties. Our party is also a regional party, but we hold a different view. It should be sparingly used. The amendments and the instructions which have come have clearly demonstrated that and once the President's Rule is imposed under article 356 of the Constitution, it should be ratified immediately by the Parliament. I think that gives a clear instruction to the Central Government that it should be sparingly used.

Sir, when it comes to Karnataka, we should also refer to the system of democracy which we have in our country. It is parliamentary democracy and in a parliamentary democracy, the system is, 'the first past the post'. That is the mechanism which we have adopted. In 'the first past the post' system, some situations will crop up where we have a fractured mandate and in a fractured mandate there will be coalitions. It is not always possible for the political parties to have an arrangement before the elections. At times situations will arise where you will have arrangement after the results come out. Such things do not happen only in our country, but also happens in other countries also where parliamentary democracy is in vogue.

So, when we have such situations, what is the best thing to do? Here, I am reminded of Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma's writings and his decisions as the President of this country. He had categorically stated that the leader of the majority party or the party which has the maximum number of seats in the Assembly or in the Lok Sabha should first be called to form the Government. In determining that, there should not be a long gap so that unethical means are not employed to form a coalition. So, when the leader of the majority party or the party which has the maximum number of seats in the House is asked to form the Government, he should be asked to prove his majority within a stipulated time.

What happened in Karnataka? The Bharatiya Janata Party had the maximum number of seats in the Assembly. It had around 79 Members supported by the JD (U) which had 5 Members. In a way, this was the largest political group in the Karnataka Assembly. But after some time, two political parties, namely the Congress and the JD (S), combined together, formed the Government and they proved their majority in the Assembly. [R51]

I fail to understand whether the JD(S) has given an explanation to the people of Karnataka when it withdrew from that coalition. Why have they withdrawn from the Congress-led coalition? I am yet to find it in any media why they have withdrawn from that and why they have come with BJP which was led later on.

There are situations in our country where we have had minority Government. It was in 1969, after the division of Congress,

that Mrs. Gandhi led minority Government was supported by the CPI from outside. We have had Government during Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao's time. It was a minority Government and had managed to continue for more than four years as a minority Government. We have this Governments in Centre. These are instances in Centre, I need not go in provinces, where the Governments have been formed and supported from outside is given.

It is not unique in our country. In many parliamentary democratic countries such types of Governments are formed and Houses continue. What has happened in Karnataka? A coalition Government has been formed, but there is distrust, there is ill-will. Ministers are filing FIRs against the Chief Minister. I fail to understand what is happening there and this creates so much of ill-will between the people, between political parties. One thing is said in the morning by one quarter and another thing is said in the evening by another. I think, in this manner, a political system cannot run.

I would only mention here that providing outside support is on a thinner edge that a Government actually functions. It is very difficult and at times, I have seen Governors asking for written consent from respective political parties so that they can get an assurance that this Government will continue. What is required today is stability. But stability can also be established if a leader commands that much of respect inside the House. We have had situations in other countries where the leader alone can command the respect of the House, political parties can combine together.

I would like to state here that uncertainty is there in Karnataka and there is tremendous ill-will between political parties. Three distinct political groups are there today. But it is high time that this Assembly should be dissolved immediately and Karnataka people should be given a chance to have their own Government. This method of sharing power with 20 months each is really a unique feature which we have seen in Karnataka and I am sure the people of Karnataka will elect a popular Government in the near future. But at the same time, I would say that an attempt is being made in different quarters as if the people are at fault for giving a fractured mandate.

**15.19 hrs.**

(Shri Varkala Radhakrishnan *in the Chair*)

Fractured mandate is nothing new. I am repeating it that fractured mandate in parliamentary democracy is nothing new and in parliamentary democracy when a mandate does not give a clear cut majority to any political party, situations are created where coalition Governments can run smoothly and can deliver the goods. This has happened in Punjab. This has happened in Maharashtra. This has happened in Orissa where for the last seven years, the coalition Governments is running because there is trust between two coalition partners.[\[r52\]](#)

It is with coalition; it is only with trust that a Government runs. It is the trust between the Members, between the participants, trust within the House and trust of the people. Once the trust is broken, the Government will fall. Here the Government has fallen. I only urge that immediately the House should be dissolved and fresh mandate should be called for.

SHRI AJOY CHAKRABORTY (BASIRHAT): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to speak very shortly. Therefore I would request you not to ring the bell in the meantime.

Sir, we are the witness of the drama of Karnataka. It is nothing but an unholy, an unprincipled and an unethical alliance between the two Parties. Marriage tie has been dissolved between BJP and JD(S). I do not know whether it is a permanent dissolution of the marriage tie or it will be revived at any moment for grabbing the power in Karnataka.

Karnataka is a leading industrial State in our country. My learned friend, Shri Mohan Singh already referred about the heritage and culture of Karnataka. This type of unstable Government in Karnataka, which is emerging as one of the leading States of the country, will jeopardize the interest of the people, will hamper the industrial policy and growing industry in Karnataka.

I am compelled to refer the name of Devegowda *ji*. He is an hon. Member of this august House. Not only that, he is a former Prime Minister of India. He was holding highest place in our country. He was the Prime Minister of India in the United Front Government. He fought in favour of the secular forces of our country. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Chakraborty, address the Chair.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI AJOY CHAKRABORTY : He was the Prime Minister from the secular Parties and he opposed BJP. We can recollect that BJP vividly opposed the Devegowda Government. It is only for grabbing the power, as his son Kumaraswamy will be the Chief Minister of Karnataka. That is why, he got support from BJP. He has a connivance with BJP to make a Government. I have tremendous respect for Devegowda *ji* but this time I am sorry to ask: "How far will we respect our hon. former Prime Minister Devegowda *ji* in the name of secularism?" It is because he has formed a new Party and the name of the Party is Janata Dal (Secular). How far is he continuing secularism? I have hundred per cent doubt in that regard. He has made a coalition, made an alliance with a Party which has not the slightest respect for secularism. That is the cause. The question is not the coalition that the Chief Minister, Yeddyurappa formed; the question is stability of the Government. Both the Parties betrayed the cause of the people. In the name of the stable Government, they got vote from the people. Ultimately they betrayed the people of Karnataka. So, our Party, CPI, other Left Parties and other democratic parties will not be supporting the imposition of article 356; but in this case they have no other alternative than to impose article 356. That is why, we support the imposition of President's Rule under article 356 in Karnataka. But that should be a temporary arrangement because, for the sake of democracy, the Assembly should be dissolved and fresh mandate should be taken from the people. Immediate mid-term poll is required for the interest of democracy without any further delay. Though the election which will take place will put burden on the Public Exchequer yet for the sake of democracy, for the sake of the people of Karnataka, for a stable Government in Karnataka, there is no other alternative but to dissolve the assembly and seek fresh mandate from the people of Karnataka.

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI (DHARWAD NORTH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, in 2004, both Parliament and Assembly elections were held. It was a fractured mandate, of course. But the mandate was very clear. The Congress Party was rejected by the people of Karnataka. It was the BJP which got 79 seats. All that were explained and I do not want to repeat them now. Under the name of secularism, both the Congress Party and JD (S) joined together and formed the Government. At that time also, we did not make hue and cry out of that. Under the leadership of Shri B.S. Yedurappa, we played the role of constructive Opposition in Karnataka. But I do not know what had happened. I think, Shri Devegowda is going to explain it. All of a sudden, Shri Kumaraswamy came out and said: "To save our Party, we are joining with the BJP and forming a new coalition." It was an agreement between both the Parties that for the first twenty months, there would be the JD (S)-led Government and for the next twenty months there would be the BJP-led Government. At that time, Shri Devegowda said: "Till I am alive, I do not allow Shri Kumaraswamy to go with BJP." But what happened? The JD (S)-led Government went for 20 months. For 20 months, Shri Devegowda and his family enjoyed the power, and ultimately when the question of transferring the power came, they said: "We do not want to transfer the power." Again they became secular. Why did they become secular again? It was because he had made his one son as the Chief Minister and he wanted to make his other son as the Chief Minister. That is why, he said: "I do not want to transfer the power."

Ultimately, when Shri M.P. Prakash and other senior leaders decided to violate the orders of Devegowda *ji*, people saw another drama, and he said: "We want to go again with BJP." Affidavits were filed before the Governor, not only before the Governor but all the copies of those affidavits were submitted before the hon. President of India. After that, when the question of facing the Confidence Motion came in the Assembly, imposing of conditions was started. What were those conditions? You leave apart other conditions. Their main condition was about the allocation of portfolios. They wanted the portfolios of Mines, Zoology, Home and Finance. Whatever agreement we had with them 20 months back was to be respected, and we did not go back to Devegowda *ji* or his son. We were going in *dharmayatra* under the leadership of Shri B.S. Yedurappa and Shri Ananta Kumar *ji*. But the hon. former Prime Minister, Shri Devegowda contacted our national leaders and said: "We will forget whatever has happened and form the Government in Karnataka to avoid the untimely election." Our national leaders had agreed to this. But they wanted the important portfolios and I do not want, for the sake of ...(Interruptions)

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI M.M. PALLAM RAJU): Please explain.

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI : I do not know the reasons. I think, senior persons are there. They wanted the portfolios such as Mines. Everybody knows about mining that was going on in Karnataka. So, Shri Devegowda wanted the Mines' portfolio for his

son; PWD for his son; Home and Finance for his son; Power for his son; BDA for his son; the remaining portfolios to some of his other MLAs; and they wanted the BJP to keep quiet with the Chief Ministership.

JD (S) now has become JD (Sons), and it has become a company. Now, I would request Shri Devegowda to change the name of his Party from JD (S). It should not remain JD (S). It should be changed to JD (B). JD (B) means JD (Betrayal) because betrayal was in his blood. He had betrayed Shri Ramakrishna Hegde, who was the most popular leader in Karnataka and who was the founding father of Janata Dal. He was betrayed. When Shri Devegowda became the Prime Minister, his first duty was to throw Shri Ramakrishna Hegde out of Janata Dal.[\[h53\]](#)

The same case went further also. He went with the Congress. We did not go and approach him; we did not beg them that we want to form the Government. It was his son who came with 39 MLAs and said he did not want to go with them. Then, ultimately he said that his son was doing a good job; he appreciated that Government and then, again, he betrayed the BJP. We were going on a *Dharma Yatra*, and again we were called; again the same drama occurred.

I would just like to submit that the level of politics is coming down in Karnataka. The pre-Independence stage was different. During the pre-Independence stage, the politicians were seen with respect, they were being respected very highly. But post-Independence, after some years, politicians were seen with some doubts. Earlier, when any political leader was passing through, people used to say: "Yes, some leader is going." They used to tell their sons and daughters: "He is the leader of our State; he is the leader of our city, you pay him *namaskar*." But what has happened now? लोग आगे से पोलिटिशियन को नमस्कार करते हैं और पीछे से बोलते हैं कि किसी को ड्यूप करने के लिए जा रहे हैं, किसी को डूबाने के लिए जा रहे हैं। Nowadays, politicians are seen with doubt. This is the credit of Shri Devegowda.

Sir, in this situation, there is no other option but to dissolve the Karnataka Assembly. I would, through this House, appeal to the people of Karnataka that in the next elections they should give a clear mandate for the formation of the stable Government.

With these few words, I support this Statutory Resolution.

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA (CHITRADURGA): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving me the permission to speak a few words either for or against the Resolution moved by the hon. Home Minister to approve action taken by the hon. President of India. I am also from Karnataka. Though I am new to the politics yet I am not new to the moralities.

I would also like to speak a few words. There is no doubt that in Karnataka in the year 2004, no party had obtained a clear-cut majority. There was a fractured mandate. The Congress party got 65 seats and our friends from the JD(S) came forward by saying that they would be supporting us to form a Government. We thought that this understanding would be a reasonable and favourable one, and therefore, we agreed for that. They were kind enough to give us an opportunity to lead the State by making Shri Dharam Singh as the hon. Chief Minister of the State. Of course, there was distribution of portfolios; and there was no grievance of any kind between the Congress and the JD(S).

When this appellation was going on happily and smoothly, somehow the brain of the JD(S) was spoiled by the B.J.P.. I do not want to use the harsh words because fortunately, a senior politician of our State Mr. Ananth Kumarji has not used any harsh words against the Congress. But they persuaded them. I have come to understand that the BJP persuaded the JS(S) to come out from the alliance with the Congress and have a new marriage settlement between the JD(S) and the BJP. [\[r54\]](#)

And, they were successful by setting up Shri Kumaraswamy to see some MLAs were taken to the resort because it is called the resort culture in Karnataka. When we came to know that JD(S) has fallen out from our company, we happily came out from that understanding and we handed over the power. It was the alliance between, rather I would like to say, 'unholy and unethical alliance' as used by my friend, between the JD(S) and the BJP. For 20 months, of course, they were also pulling on well because that understanding was there between sharing of power and sharing of other things also. I do not know why all of a sudden, the bickering started between the BJP and the JD(S).

They say that there was an understanding for 20 months each and when 20 months' time was nearing, the BJP started saying that you must hand over power to B.J.P. by 3<sup>rd</sup> of October. When Kumaraswamy said that he is not going to hand over the power, the BJP went on *Dharma Yatra* throughout the State. They used all sorts of words against the JD(S). Such words cannot be found in any of the dictionaries of any language. Such unparliamentary words were used against the JD(S) and its leader also.

They gave an understanding to the people as if they are not power-mongering persons; they do not want power any longer with alliance and they are for *dharma* and they want to install *dharma* in the State as if they are the only persons born

to give *Dharma* to the State and as if it is their monopoly. But all of a sudden, what they did was, when the *Dharma Yatra* was going on, it appears there was a call from the JD(S), yes you come back; we are going to support you. On the middle of the road, they stopped their *Yatra* and came running to Bangalore city and Shri Yeddyurappa said these are our four people. I am the Chief Minister and these are the four persons. I am going to form the Government with others.

They went to the Governor. That was narrated by my other friends and also our hon. Home Minister. I need not speak about that. Oath was taken and he was installed as the Chief Minister. I do not know what happened because we never poked our nose in their affairs. The Congress was not at all willing. It did not open its mouth, as opposed, against their alliance because it was their understanding and how we can poke our nose. We have got a right to criticize and we were criticizing. That is all. Except that, we did not say that you cannot have alliance and all that. So, for seven days they went on, and all of a sudden, Shri Yeddyurappa said, now I cannot pull on with the JD(S). It is putting all sorts of obstacles. I do not know what their conditions were because we were not a party to those understandings between the JD(S) and the BJP.

Just now I heard from our learned brother Mr. Pralhad Joshi that JD(S) wanted some important portfolios. I do not know how they are important and how they are non-important. It is for them to explain. It is because on the allocation of portfolios, the differences started. Then, all of a sudden, when the Vote of Confidence was about to be taken up, the so-called then Leader of the State left the Assembly and ran to the Governor's office and handed over the resignation. That is how this alliance had broken for the third time.

My friend here was narrating as if the BJP is the only Party in the State, which is clean from all these bad things. I would like to here pinpoint that it was because of the BJP, all these struggles started in the State. If the BJP had not instigated Mr. Kumaraswamy to ask his Legislators to come out from the Congress, definitely the Congress and the JD(S) would have continued for a full term of five years which the people of the State wanted; and they had faith in that system. But they betrayed that. In the first instance, they instigated Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy. The Chair knows well the effect of instigation and so also the culprits.[\[m55\]](#)

They instigated and JD(S) became a culprit. So, both are responsible to be sued and to be punished and that is what the people are going to do in the next election. ...*(Interruptions)* I will come to that point. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.K. KHARVENTHAN (PALANI): Why are you commenting on the Congress? ...*(Interruptions)* You purchased the headache on your own. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI : In 2004 you had a coalition with them. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA : Please do not interrupt. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.K. KHARVENTHAN : You are power-mongers. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA : We did not show an iota of anger towards their formation by making this unholy alliance. As a matter of fact, we were really happy that, though their views are poles apart, somehow they were aligning and they were trying to lead the State. But, unfortunately, they failed on both the aspects.

Shri Ananth Kumar was telling that the JD(S) had betrayed the public. I have to say that it is not the JD(S) alone. I do not say JD(S) is a very good Party and their people are very good. But, at the same time, the BJP is as bad as the JD(S). Both of them betrayed the State. ...*(Interruptions)*

**श्री रमेश चंदप्पा जीगजीणगी (चिक्कोडी) :** अपनी पार्टी के जालप्पा जी से पूछिए।

**श्री एन.वाई. हनुमन्थप्पा :** वह भी बोलेंगे। All the people expected that Ministry would run the State for five years and they would not trouble the people by asking them to again go to the polling booths in less than five years' time. But, unfortunately, these two groups made it to happen now. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR (BANGALORE SOUTH): Sir, Shri Hanumanthappa is former Chief Justice. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.K. KHARVENTHAN : He is rendering justice. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : In the 2004 elections, the Congress was rejected by the people. They had 150 Members in the previous Assembly and they became 65. The people have rejected them. Why did they want to come to power from the backdoor? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA : I am coming to that point. ...*(Interruptions)*



THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI): Sir, Shri Ananth Kumar has every knowledge excepting the election figures. In this election, the secular forces got the mandate isolating the BJP from coming to power. Please try to learn the lessons. Do not try to jump on to the conclusions. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : JD(S) joined with the Congress. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI : On that day the JD(S) did not join the BJP. You are lurking on the power and trying to hobnob here and there. Though you got the power, you could not keep it. ...(*Interruptions*) You do not even know the technique of this. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA : I am coming to that. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : It was the mandate against the Congress Party. ...(*Interruptions*) It was a mandate for the Bharatiya Janata Party and not the Congress Party. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Hanumanthappa alone can speak. Nothing else will be recorded.

(*Interruptions*)\*

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA : Yes, Sir. I will address the Chairman. In fact, why was the coalition formed? It was not that the Congress party secured less votes, but our other friends, JD(S) at that time, which was committed to social justice like us, also secured nearly 55 seats. With our 65 seats, put together, it came to 120. That was more than what he expected. ...(*Interruptions*) In fact, the people had taught a lesson telling the BJP that they are not fit to rule the State. The mandate was against the BJP and not against us. The people liked both Congress and JD(S) and that is why they elected us and they wanted a secular-spirited people should be there. That is why they made us to sit power.

Unfortunately, the BJP wooed the JD(S) to go in their camp and made the people feel disappointed, betrayed and now they made everyone to feel very sad and disgusted about the politics of the State of Karnataka. At no time they showed any respect to social justice. At no time during these two-and-a-half years they were like that and they always wanted to have their own ideologies to be implemented, which people did not like. Fortunately now, it has come to an end. Now the people will definitely tell what type of Government they should have.

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\* Not recorded

Shri Mahtab was also telling that it has become an order of the day to have coalition Governments. Of course, we also respected that let there be a coalition between the JD(S) and the BJP. But, unfortunately, there was a collusion between JD(S) and the BJP. They colluded and there was a downfall also.

In order to prevent such things, this Proclamation has come. Everyone has now supported the use of Article 356, except my friend Shri Varkala Radhakrishnan to a little extent. Now nobody can erase Article 356. It should be there. It is a greatest whip and a sword in the hands of the President of India. We should have it.

In order to stop this type of running of the Governments or falling of the Governments, there should a suitable law to be made by this august House. [\[k56\]](#)

Law shall be made that once a coalition forms the Government, it shall run, whether they are conducting it rightly or wrongly, for a period of five years and whichever party is responsible to pull down the coalition Government, shall pay the entire expenses of the future elections. Such a law should be made. Secondly, once a coalition is formed, there shall be an undertaking between the two that they will run it for a period of five years. Such a law should be made. Otherwise, there will be no end to it and what happened in France will happen in India also. Today one Government is formed and tomorrow another Government will be formed. Actually, it will be fooling the people and hurting their aspirations.

As far as JD(S) and BJP are concerned, I do not want to use any bad words for them other than simply saying in light words that they actually ...(*Not recorded*) the entire electorate of Karnataka. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI : Sir, this word is unparliamentary. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA : Shri Joshi, I am sorry that I have used a good word. They have actually ... because now they are driven ...(*Interruptions*) They promised to the people that they would take them to ...(*Interruptions*) Okay, I use the word 'disappointed'. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : It is your turn. You can speak.

...(*Interruptions*)

श्री अनंत कुमार : हिन्दी में हमने कहा - वज्रपात हो गया।...(*व्यवधान*)

â€¦\*

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA : If my friends are not happy with the word ... I say that they deceived the people, they disappointed the people ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him finish.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI : Sir, let the entire country know whether this word is unparliamentary or not. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: Sir, if there is anything unparliamentary, you have the right to expunge it at the end of the speech. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will look into it.

(*Interruptions*)\* â€¦

MR. CHAIRMAN: Nothing will go on record.

(*Interruptions*)\* â€¦

MR. CHAIRMAN: If there is any unparliamentary usage, that will be off the record.

...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: You finish it.

...(*Interruptions*)

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\* Not recorded

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA : Nowhere it says that ... is unparliamentary. I have now stated another good word. Actually they deceived and disappointed the electorate of Karnataka State. In fact, whatever promises they had made at the time of election and also after forming the Government, they have breached those promises. They are liable to be prosecuted for the breach of promise committed by them and the authority to punish them will be the electorate of Karnataka. Definitely, they will tell them the lesson and tomorrow they will impose a very heavy fine on them at the time of elections.

As far as we are concerned, the Congress has 65 members in the Assembly. We too would have formed the Government, but we never believed in horse trading. We said that we did not want to form the Government and we want to remain as we are today. We do not want to form the Government unless we have an absolute majority in the House. Otherwise, we too would

have gone for horse trading or for wooing the JD(S) people. Even their people were prepared to come to us and join us. We said 'please do not come to us and be where you are.' Nearly 30 people wanted to join us because they know ...*(Interruptions)*  
How can they know? We know. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: This House would not have taken its time had Shri Ananth Kumar been the Chief Minister. ...*(Interruptions)* Since he could not become the Chief Minister, he just played an important role to see that this Government does not continue. लोग कहते हैं, हम नहीं कहते।...*(व्यवधान)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, he has taken my name.

**श्री प्रियरंजन दासमुंशी:** मैं इज्जत से उनका नाम ले रहा हूँ। He deserves. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, hon. Parliamentary Affairs Minister is a very responsible person. In Karnataka, BJP is totally united. We had decided 20 months ago that Shri Yeddiurappa will become our Deputy Chief Minister and after 20 months, he will become our Chief Minister. Therefore, we stood like a rock and the total BJP – Central Parliamentary Board, our National Council, our State Executive, State Legislature and everybody – supported it. But unfortunately, the Congress Party as well as the JD(S) is spreading the canards about divisions in the BJP. [\[s57\]](#)

There is no such division. Whereas, the Congress Party wanted to form a Government because up to 27<sup>th</sup> -- after we withdrew support on 8<sup>th</sup> -- the Union Government did not revoke the Presidential Rule, and did not allow Shri B. S. Yeddyurappa to form the Government. They were hobnobbing with JD (S) during that time through Shri M. P. Prakash. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI TEJASWINI GOWDA : Sir, they are misleading the House. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : There was a serious problem as to who should become the Chief Minister. That was their problem. We told Shri Devegowda as well as Shri Kumaraswamy to please come and take oath as Deputy Chief Minister when we formed the Government on 12<sup>th</sup> November under the leadership of Shri B. S. Yeddyurappa. But there was a continuous fight between Shri Kumaraswamy and Shri Revanna as to who should become the Deputy Chief Minister. Therefore, they did not join the Cabinet. This is the situation both in the Congress Party and JD (S). The BJP was united under the leadership of Shri B. S. Yeddyurappa as he is the Chief Ministerial candidate, and our leader there.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: Sir, the honest and virtuous Party that stood like a rock instantly went to the Governor saying that they are withdrawing their support from JD (S). Further, they were the first to go to the Press on the day the President's Rule was imposed to say that they want a mandate and dissolution. But again, when slightly some silver sky was shown, namely, Shri Devegowda's son was ready to support them, they again jumped and said that they are ready to accept the Chief Minister's post. Therefore, please do not try to talk about the rock, soil and everything. Let us talk sincerely and honestly that your commitment ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI : Whatever decision was taken was taken by the Party unitedly. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI : You can go and explain to the people of Karnataka in what manner you can be loved...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI : You will come to know about it after the elections. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hanumanthappa, have you concluded your speech?

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI N.Y. HANUMANTHAPPA : Sir, I am concluding in one minute. It is not my duty to find fault with their internal affairs, and it is left to them. But one thing is clear that they have deceived the people of the State. I use this word emphatically. They did not feel happy to continue with JD (S) because there was a distance between those two people, and they were not happy to continue the family affair. Hence, they wanted to have a divorce, and now they are happily divorced.

If at all they wanted to tell the people that they wanted to run the show, but these people did not allow, then there was no reason for hon. Shri Yeddyurappa to go out from the House right to the Governor's house and tender his resignation. He should have faced the vote of confidence, which he did not do. It means that everything is not fair with BJP, and whatever they have said about the Congress Party is totally false. It is nothing but finding fault with the Congress, which is committed to serve social

justice. The action taken by the hon. Governor is justified, and all that the hon. President has done is absolutely and 200 per cent correct because it is permissible under law, that is, under article 356. Therefore, there is no other go but to approve the action of the President of India, and go for dissolution of the Assembly.

With these words, I again thank the Chairman and the House.

SHRI RAMESH CHANDAPPA JIGAJINAGI (CHIKKODI): Thank you, Sir. I am seeking your permission to speak from this place.

होम मिनिस्टर जी, जो बिल यहां लाये हैं, उसका सपोर्ट करते हुए मुझे बहुत दुख हो रहा है क्योंकि कर्नाटक के इतिहास में ऐसा कभी नहीं हुआ था। कर्नाटक का नाम जितना ऊंचा हुआ था उतना ही नीचे गिर गया। इसका कारण क्या है, इसकी जानकारी के लिए मैं भी बहुत कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। ऐसा जेडी(एस) की वजह से हुआ है। यह देखकर बहुत दुख होता है। मैं इसके लिए एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ कि एंटी डिफेक्शन बिल जो देश में लाया गया है, उसकी मॉनीटरिंग के लिए एक स्टेट्युटरी बॉडी की बहुत आवश्यकता है। जेडी(एस) की पार्टी जब स्पिलिट हुई तब अध्यक्ष देवगौड़ा जी ने स्पीकर को एक लैटर दिया कि हमारी पार्टी के जितने लोग स्पिलिट होकर गये, उनको एक्सपेल करो। ...*(व्यवधान)* 39 मैम्बर्स को एक्सपेल करने के लिए लैटर दिया गया, लेकिन उस लैटर पर 20 महीनों तक कोई डिस्मिशन नहीं लिया गया due to our Speaker. 20 महीने तक उस लैटर का कोई जवाब नहीं दिया।[\[r58\]](#) यह बहुत दुख की बात है कि एक घण्टे में होने वाले काम के लिए 20 महीने लगे। उसी बीच में एक एमएलए श्री नागराज ने भी एक पत्र लिखा, लेकिन उसका भी जवाब नहीं दिया। यह सब जो घटनाएं कर्नाटक में हुईं, उनको एवाइड करने के लिए एक स्टेट्युटरी बॉडी की जरूरत है। I will request this House to make one statutory body to monitor the implementation of the Anti-Defection law. मेरे दोस्त और पार्टी के नेताओं ने यहां अपनी बातें कही हैं, लेकिन देवगौड़ा जी का निजरूप हमें पहले मालूम नहीं था। देवगौड़ा जी जब तक प्रधानमंत्री नहीं बने थे, तब तक ठीक थे। रामकृष्ण हेगड़े जी ने कर्नाटक में एक पक्ष बनाया था, लेकिन उसी आदमी को प्रधानमंत्री बनने के बाद देवगौड़ा जी ने उस पक्ष से बाहर निकाल दिया। मैं हेगड़े जी और देवगौड़ा जी के साथ था। देवगौड़ा जी के कारण मुझे तीन चुनाव तीन पार्टियों से लड़ना पड़ा। पहले मैं जनता दल में था, हेगड़े साहब को जनता दल से बाहर निकाला गया, तो मैं भी हेगड़े साहब के साथ गया। फिर लोकशक्ति पार्टी से चुनाव लड़ा। फिर दूसरी बार हेगड़े जी को देवगौड़ा जी पक्ष में लाए, फिर मुझे दूसरा चुनाव जनता दल से लड़ना पड़ा। देवगौड़ा साहब पार्टी छोड़कर गए और उसके कुछ समय बाद हेगड़े साहब का देहान्त हो गया। फिर मैं तीसरी बार तीसरी पार्टी से चुनकर इस सदन में आया। आप समझ सकते हैं कि इससे मुझे कितनी तकलीफ हुई होगी। आज जनता दल के बारे में कर्नाटक में लोग बोलते हैं कि यह ...*(व्यवधान)*\* राजनेताओं की पार्टी नहीं है। ऐसा लोग बोलते हैं, मैं नहीं बोल रहा हूँ। जनता दल ने जो कांग्रेस के साथ किया, बीजेपी के साथ किया, उसके लिए लोग अगले चुनाव में उनको पाठ सिखाएंगे। इसमें कोई डाउट नहीं है कि देवगौड़ा जी और उनकी पार्टी ने राज्य का जितना ख्याल रखा है, उससे ज्यादा ख्याल उनकी फैमिली का रखा है।

महोदय, मैं इतना ही बोलकर, इस रिजोल्यूशन का सपोर्ट करते हुए आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

**श्री प्रियरंजन दासमुंशी :** आपने बिल्कुल सही कहा है, कर्नाटक की यही पिक्चर है जैसा आपने बताया है।

MR. CHAIRMAN : I would now request Shri R.L. Jalappa to speak on the issue concerning Karnataka.

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\* Not recorded

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA (CHIKBALLAPUR): Sir, I have been listening to all the speeches of my friends from this side and from that side. Some of my friends said that culturally, Karnataka is a very matured State, it was very well administered previously, and unfortunately, these two parties, both BJP and JD(S), ruined that good name.

Sir, when we were defeated in the 2004 elections, I told all my friends not to join the Ministry since the people have rejected us. But just for power, some of the leaders in my Party joined this untrustworthy JD(S). ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : He is telling the truth.

SHRIMATI TEJASWINI GOWDA : The hon. Member purposefully mentioned about some individuals and not the Party.[\[r59\]](#)

**16.00 hrs.**

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Please listen, I will come to you also.

They somehow managed for twenty months. The Government was run by Mr. Deve Gowda and not by Mr. Dharam Singh. He speaks as if he comes from heaven. Let him speak from his heart. The Government under him was governed by Mr. Deve Gowda and his son. At six o'clock in morning Mr. Deve Gowda used to phone to Mr. Dharam Singh. Whenever he received the call of Mr. Deve Gowda, Mr. Dharam Singh would immediately jump from his seat, say, "*Namaskar*, Sir" and then attend to his work. I have criticized this several times. Mr. Deve Gowda's son Mr. Kumaraswamy used to come there at six or six-thirty, speak to Mr. Deve Gowda, get all his work sanctioned and go. We could not get anything done. No congress worker got anything either from Mr. Dharam Singh or from that coalition government. That is all right.

All of a sudden, they shifted. That is because BJP went to Mr. Kumaraswamy and enticed him. Mr. Yeddyurappa, Shettar and another gentleman went to his guesthouse in the midnight and enticed him by saying, "Yes, you become the Chief Minister, we will support you." Mr. Kumaraswamy was power

hungry and so he agreed. What did he say? He said that he was joining hands with BJP to save his party. In fact, there was no danger to his party. We never tried to break his party. Breaking the party is known only to JD(S), not to anybody else. We never did it. In spite of that, it was stated as the reason. They wanted power and money, nothing else.

So, BJP enticed Mr. Kumaraswamy, coaxed him and supported him. They distributed portfolios amongst themselves. There was a complaint lodged by one MLC that about Rs.150 crore was paid as bribe to Mr. Kumaraswamy. Unfortunately, I am told that the case is pending in the Supreme Court. I do not know what is wrong with the judiciary and why it does not decide this case. After all it was referred to refer it to CBI. They need not take months and years together for it. In spite of that, they were pulling on. Then, they fell out.

They went to Tumkur Seer, took his blessings, and were proceeding on Dharma Yatra. On the same evening word was sent to Mr. Yeddyurappa. He came running leaving the Dharma Yatra halfway. He came there, there was some understanding between these two people. But fortunately, unfortunately for Mr. Yeddyurappa, the BJP leaders at the Centre did not permit him to go along with them once again. Again he continued. He went to Shimoga. There also JD(S) people told them, "Come here, we will do something". So, he ran up. That time also he could not get it. Mr. Yeddyurappa fell into the trap the third time.

Sir, both the parties are fraudulent parties in Karnataka. I am not blaming the BJP at the centre. I am only talking about the State. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, how can Mr. Jalappa use that word? It is an unparliamentary expression. If that is allowed, then Congress is a fraudulent party. Mr. Jalappa was the Minister of Textiles in Deve Gowda Government. He should remember that fact. He owes his political career to Mr. Ramakrishna Hegde. He is from the same Janata Dal *parivar*. ...(*Interruptions*)

He is not a saint. Therefore, he cannot call other parties as

fraudulent parties. Before calling other parties as fraudulent parties, he should know that Congress is a fraudulent party.  
...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Ananth Kumar, your party men can speak later. Let him speak.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, I have got respect to Mr. Jalappa. But he was Textile Minister in Deve Gowda Government. He should not forget that. ...(Interruptions) If he thought that JD(S) was a fraudulent party, why did he join Mr. Deve Gowda's Cabinet as the Textiles Minister?...(Interruptions)[\[KMR60\]](#)

He was the Home Minister of Karnataka. Why did you join the Congress party? Why are you a turncoat and joined the Congress party? You are fraudulent. ...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Hon. Members, you have all spoken and you have been given ample time. You have spoken about all these matters. Let him finish. Your turn will come and then you can speak about that.

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Can I speak?

MR. CHAIRMAN: You alone can speak.

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Shri Ananth Kumar, please listen to me. I was in Janata Dal. I was earlier in Congress. When Shri Devaraj Urs was thrown out from the Congress, I went with him because he was very kind to the downtrodden people, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes people and the Backward Classes. I remained with him. I contested in 1983 from the Karnataka Kranti Ranga. Please understand this. Unfortunately, I was with him. I gave up this party. I fought with Shri Devegowda and I told him, in front of party leaders, that he is not trustworthy and that he has ditched me several times and that I do not want to continue in his party. I have not come out quarreling with them. I have told on their face and have come out. Shri Sitaram Kesari sent us a message. Then, I went there. He asked me as to why not I contest from the Congress ticket. I told him that I am already 72 and I do not want to fight any more elections and that I am retiring. He replied: "No, I am already 78 or 80. I am here." Why do you not contest? Then, he gave me the ticket. I successfully contested for three times. This is the story.

I would come to why I used the word 'fraudulent'. If it was not fraudulently done, why did he approach the Chief Minister, Shri Kumaraswamy? Why did you do that? ...(Interruptions) Allow me to speak.

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : When you are rejected by the people of Karnataka, they went and joined the JD(S), which is fraudulent. ...(Interruptions) You have defrauded the people of Karnataka. It is a fraud committed on the people of Karnataka.  
...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Shri Jalappa, if you have any questions, you can address the Chair. Do not address the Opposition.

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : If they had not fraudulently done this, why did you go to Shri Kumaraswamy in the dead of night and entice him to become the Chief Minister, and then support him. That was not necessary. Why I used that word is, afterwards both the parties joined together, and they ditched us. Are you a gentleman? Do you call yourself a gentleman? That is why, I used a strong word. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : We are ditched today. They lost the mandate. Congress party has defrauded. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : It is not an unparliamentary word. I am using a parliamentary word. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : You defrauded the Congress party. ...(Interruptions) Congress party has defrauded.  
...(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: The speech of Shri Jalappa only will be recorded.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : You have joined with JD(S). You have spoiled a young and innocent boy, Shri Kumaraswamy. You

have made him to become a villain. You are responsible. The BJP is responsible. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : We will not allow this.

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : May I go ahead?

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Expunge the remarks. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : You cannot shut my mouth. I have every liberty to speak. You speak whatever you want. This is not the way. This is a parliamentary debate. You cannot ask me to shut my mouth. [\[r61\]](#)

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, how can he use that word? We will not allow it to go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : The word 'fraudulent' is not unparliamentary. It can be used.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Sir, secondly, both the parties joined together and ditched us. It was all right and there was no problem, but why did now they fall apart? As one of my friends was telling from the other side, they wanted particular portfolios which are money-spinning. They are Mines and Geology, Urban Development, PWD, etc. ...*(Interruptions)* Why are you shouting at the top of the voice now? You may keep quiet. We know what you were demanding. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, this is too much; we will not allow. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : This is not the way to defend a person. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please cooperate.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : They should also cooperate; they should talk truthfully; they should not be so untruthful; and that too, Shri Jalappa. ...*(Interruptions)* He should also know his standing. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : I know my standing. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Before throwing stones at others, he should know that he is living in a glass house. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Jalappa, you may continue.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : I am not in a glass house; my hands are clean. Nobody can blame of anything. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, we will not allow this. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : There is no corruption charge; nobody can blame me of anything. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Yes, he is 'Satya Harichandran' and others are 'fraudulent!' ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Why were they fighting for that particular portfolio? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : No, we were not fighting. That was an agreement arrived at earlier. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Then, why did you not give it up? ...*(Interruptions)* Why did you not give those portfolios to them? It is because you wanted money. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : No. It was on the basis of an agreement. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : You wanted money; it was at the cost of the people and at the cost of the nation. You wanted those portfolios to make money and nothing else. It was not in the interest of the people. ...*(Interruptions)* Do not try to hoodwink people. I have also seen everything. I have also seen so many things. Shri Ananth Kumar, I respect you. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : You are talking untruths. You are talking fraudulently. You are not the only speaker in the Parliament.

We will not allow you. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : You cannot be telling untruths in the Parliament of India. Why should he be speaking fraudulently? ...(*Interruptions*) What he says is untruth. ...(*Interruptions*) He cannot go on imputing motives. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, I am on my legs; please be seated.

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, the portfolio-affair was in the agreement. Why should he come in-between this, as a commission agent? He should not say that. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: My friends from the Opposition, all of you have got chances to speak and you spoke well. You have dealt with the portfolio-affair also in detail. All these matters are on record. Shri Jalappa is also speaking about portfolio. Shri Palanimanickam is also interested! We are all interested; but at the same time, come to the point and confine to the points and be strict in parliamentary procedure.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Shri Pralhad Joshi also spoke about the portfolio. What was Shri Ananth Kumar doing at that time? ...(*Interruptions*)

Why should Shri Ananth Kumar be arguing now? ...(*Interruptions*) Why should he be arguing a wrong case? ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI : Sir, he referred to my name and I want to reply to him. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, I would like to say that the portfolio-business was an agreement reached 20 months back. We agreed that portfolios would also get exchanged. Shri Jalappa also knows this. We have nothing personal against Shri Jalappa. He is a respected leader of Karnataka. He has fought against Shri Devegowda. But he should not be imputing motives against BJP. There was an agreement between BJP and the JD (S). ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : If you are not power-hungry, you would not have gone and chased that boy, Shri Kumaraswamy. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : There was an agreement 20 months back that they would hold such and such portfolios and we will hold such and such portfolios and whenever we change, we will interchange and exchange those portfolios also. That was the agreement. ...(*Interruptions*) For that only, we were demanding. [\[MSOffice62\]](#)

We are demanding for that. We are not fighting on portfolios. We were fighting only for an honourable agreement. We said to JD(S), Shri Devegowda, Shri Kumaraswamy, do not become betrayers. Honour the agreement....(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Ananth Kumar, when you were speaking you had dealt with all these matters. The agreement reached between the BJP and the JD(S) has been discussed. There is no point in repeating it.

Please conclude, Jalappa ji.

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : For the last 20 months when both these Parties were in power...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Power sharing is the crucial issue.

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Sir, when they were in power, most of the money of the tax-payers was spent in Ram Nagaram, Hassan, Shikaripura and so on. I had myself written a number of letters to the then PWD Minister to repair some roads but he could not repair them. I had not asked him to repair a road leading to my house. In the entire constituency of mine or wherever Congress Members were there, work worth not even a single paise was undertaken....(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude. You have taken 20 minutes.



SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Shri Ananth Kumar, please come with me. I will show you, there is not a semblance of roads. We are very much disturbed. The Government of India had brought service tax and VAT system. They are getting plenty of money because of the increased industrial production in the country. A part of it is being diverted to Karnataka. But is it to be spent only in three or four constituencies of these people?

I urge upon the Government, if our Government in the Centre has got any teeth, to constitute a Commission to find out the commissions and omissions of the State Government in the last 20 months....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Let it be for the last 40 months.

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : You can argue for it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have taken 20-25 minutes.

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Sir, I will conclude within two minutes.

Our Government in the Centre is fair enough. For the first time the Assembly has been kept under suspended animation. We do welcome it because they wanted to find out as to whether anybody would come together to form the Government. These two immoral, fraudulent, unethical Parties came together and our Government allowed them. We did not come in the way. We did not go there, meet anybody to dissolve the Assembly. Now, whatever has happened is perfectly well. I compliment the Government of India and also Madam President for that. By mere dissolving the Assembly will not solve the problem. Let the Central Government understand that there shall be a Committee to go into the details of the omissions and commissions for the last 20 months.

With these few words, I thank you very much. I am very sorry if I have annoyed my friend Shri Ananth Kumar. We are friends....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : We are always friends.

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : I have not said anything about you, Shri Ananth Kumar.[\[R63\]](#)

It is Mr. Kumaraswamy who has told that you are very happy for not having given the opportunity to Mr. Yeddiyerappa to become the Chief Minister. He has told this openly...(*Interruptions*) He has also told that you look at his face how blooming and radiant it is! (*Interruptions*). His joy is radiating on his face. This is what Mr. Kumaraswamy has told who is your own ally...(*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Karunakara Reddy to speak.

...(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why do you all speak? He can speak about the developments that have taken place in Karnataka.

SHRI G. KARUNAKARA REDDY (BELLARY): Sir, first of all, I may be permitted to speak from here.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Yes. You can speak.

SHRI G. KARUNAKARA REDDY (BELLARY): Mr. Chairman Sir, today our nation is witnessing the discussion on and the betrayal and the breach of trust committed by JD(S). In 2004, in the general elections no political party got absolute majority. Though our Bharatiya Janata party emerged as a single largest party in Karnataka then, JD(S) and Congress both formed a coalition Government. But now they are accusing BJP-JD(S) coalition as an unholy coalition. Then what about JD(S)-Congress coalition? Was it not unholy coalition? After they enjoyed power for 20 months, JD(S) leader Kumara Swamy had approached BJP leaders and he sought our support to save his JD(S) party from the Congress. Even at that point of time our Hon'ble former Prime Minister Shri H.D. Devegowda Ji had expressed his unwillingness to join hands with our BJP party. He also had written this to His Excellency the Governor of Karnataka and conveyed his unhappiness. But only to avoid mid-term poll and to avoid unnecessary burden of about Rs.500 crores on the exchequer of the Government, our party supported the JD(S) to form the Government under the Chief Ministership of the Shri H.D.Kumara Swamy. It happened in the month of February 2006. Then we had reached an agreement that for the first 20 month, JD (S) leader Shri H.D. Kumara Swamy will be the Chief

Minister and BJP leader Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa will be the Deputy Chief Minister

of Karnataka and for the next 20 months Shri B.S. Yeddyurappa will be the Chief Minister and the post of Deputy Chief Minister will go to JD(S) party. The BJP upheld this agreement and acted accordingly without creating disturbance to the JD(S) led Government.

But when the JD(S) was to transfer the power to the BJP, leaders of JD(S) party made unnecessary comments on BJP. The then Chief Minister H.D.Kumara Swamy had expressed his willingness to transfer the power to BJP in front of media and some seers of mutts in Karnataka. He also said that he did not want to

be seen as a betrayer by the people of Karnataka. But he could not keep his word

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\* English translation of the speech originally delivered in Kannada

by transferring the power on October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2007. Our senior leader Shri Yashwant Sinha Ji who was also in-charge of the Karnataka BJP unit came to Karnataka and had several rounds of discussions with JD(S) and BJP leaders, but JD(S) leaders did not agree to transfer the power to BJP

My friends and colleagues and Hon'ble Members of the House Justice Y.Hanumanthappa Ji and Smt. Tejeswini Gowda Ji have accused that the BJP is power hungry. But I could say that if the BJP is so hungry for power all 18 BJP Ministers along with Deputy Chief Minister B.S.Yaddyurappa would not have tendered their resignation on October 5<sup>th</sup>, 2007. I can say BJP is has no lust of power. It is the Congress that has the lust for power. This is why soon after BJP came out of the Government, Congress had tried to form the Government with JD(S) party. That is the reason why the Karnataka Legislative Assembly was kept under suspended animation. But they could not form the Government.

Again for the second time JD(S) National President and former Hon'ble Prime Minister Shri H.D. Deve Gowda Ji and his son former Hon'ble Chief Minister of Karnataka Shri H.D. Kumara Swamy came and told our party leaders that they had done a mistake of not transferring the power to BJP. And they also assured to extend their unconditional support to the BJP to form the Government in Karnataka. After that both BJP and JD(S) legislature parties under the leadership of B.S.Yaddyurappa and Shri H.D.Kumara Swamy submitted their individual letters of support which were signed on the bond paper before the notary to His Excellency the Governor of Karnataka.

All the BJP and JD(S) Legislative Assembly Members signed in the Raj Bhawan register. At that point of time also they said support was unconditional. Even after completing all these procedures our party was not invited to form the Government. Then all the 125 Legislative Assembly Members came to New Delhi and met Her Excellency the Hon'ble President requesting necessary direction to form the popular Government in Karnataka. There also JD(S) leaders submitted their written support to BJP to form the Government in Karnataka. After that the President's rule was revoked. The Hon'ble Governor of Karnataka had invited our party leader Shri B.S.Yeddyurappa to form the Government. Accordingly Shri B.S.Yeddyurappa was sworn in on the 12<sup>th</sup> October, 2007 as the first BJP Chief Minister of Karnataka first in Southern India along with four BJP Ministers. That day itself we smelt the JD(S)'s betrayal as it had not taken oath for the post of Deputy Chief Minister which was assigned to the JD(S) party from the very first day they started cheating us. After that the floor test was decided to be held on 23<sup>rd</sup> November in the Cabinet meeting. But as directed by the Governor of Karnataka it was pre-poned to 19<sup>th</sup> November, 2007.

Accordingly our leader the then Hon'ble Chief Minister of Karnataka Shri Yedduyurappa has decided to conduct the floor test on 19<sup>th</sup> October, 2007. But there were some unexpected developments have taken place in Karnataka, which should not be happen in anywhere in the country.

JD(S) party was insisting us to give it in writing on Bond paper that certain portfolios should be given to it. 21 conditions were there which was earlier 12 in number including the consultations with JD(S) regarding transferring of officials. But our BJP central leadership and state unit did not agree to these conditions. Our party categoricially said that the Karnataka is not the property of any political party or anybody. It is the property of people of Karnataka so we refused to sign on any Bond paper.

Sir, today the Hon'ble members from the Congress party have accused that the BJP has lust for power. But I strongly deny that we are not hungry for power. Only to avoid mid-term poll and unnecessary burden on the exchequer our BJP Party had tried to form the Government with JD(S). It was not for the lust of power. Our party is always upheld the values of politics.

â€(Interruptions)

Tejeswini Ji, you may please speak when your party's turn comes. I am not yielding. Many of your party leaders Shri Dharma Singh Ji, H.K.Patil Ji, came to Delhi and tried to join hands with JD(S) only for the sake of power. I am not yielding to Smt. Tejeswini Ji. I am not using any unparliamentary word. I speak what I want to speak. The whole country is aware that how Shri Dharma Singh Ji and Shri H.K. Patel Ji have tried to form the JD(S)-Congress Government.â€(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN : All these points have been covered. All these issues have been discussed. You may please conclude now.

SHRI G. KARUNAKARA REDDY: When your chance comes, then you may speak, please don't interfere in between.

Sir, I am talking about values of the BJP party. For the sake of people of Karnataka we have not signed the Bond paper agreement. We refused to go with JD(S) party.

Sir, I am of the opinion that today we should enact a legislation to award nobel prize for 'Betrayal' and 'Breach of Trust'. If so it would definitely be awarded to our Hon'ble former Prime Minister Shri H.D. Dewegowdaji and Hon'ble former Chief Minister Shri H.D. Kumara Swamy jointly.

Finally I urge upon the Government of India to take immediate steps to dissolve the Karnataka Legislative Assembly to seek fresh mandate. The Government should ensure that within two to three months election should be held in Karnataka to form a popular Government, to protect the interests of the people of the Karnataka. Therefore I once again make an appeal to the Government through this August House to take immediate and all necessary steps in this regard.

SHRI MANJUNATH KUNNUR (DHARWAD SOUTH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to speak on the proclamation of President's Rule in the State of Karnataka. What had happened in the State has been very aptly described by the earlier learned speakers as a betrayal of democracy. It is a betrayal by the JD(S) party and they had indulged in a child like game before the entire country. Now the Central Government proposes to dissolve the Assembly and make way for holding fresh elections in the State. I rise to support this move. It is the most important thing because as has been mentioned by yourself, I also support that contention and suggest that article 356 should be scrapped from the Constitution. [\[R64\]](#)

It was first announced on 9<sup>th</sup> October, 2007. In this case, imposition of President's Rule was invoked on 9<sup>th</sup> October, 2007. The Assembly was kept under suspended animation. Again, the Proclamation was issued on 20<sup>th</sup> November of this month. So, this Article should not be taken very lightly. It should not be available so easily at the hands of the rulers of this country. Therefore, I would urge upon this Government one thing.

In this country, there are so many political parties. In Karnataka, there may be only three political parties. During the 2004 elections, there was a majority in favour of the BJP. There were 79 Members plus one Independent Member supported it. So, it came to 80 Members. Also, five JD (U) MLAs supported it. Out of the 224 Members, there were 85 Members of the BJP. The Congress had 65 Members. The JD (S) had 59 Members. Under such circumstances, who played a game to form the Government? Who was hungry for power? It is to be noted. Who were playing politics?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Manjunath, all these things have been covered in detail.

SHRI MANJUNATH KUNNUR : In this connection, I would only like to bring to your kind notice again and again that there is betrayal of democracy, betrayal of BJP and betrayal of the word. This has never happened in the history of Indian politics.

Sir, our democracy requires the two-party political system in this country. You also know that during the period 1996-2004, even for this august Parliament, elections were held four times. First, only for 13 months, the Government was there under the BJP at the Centre. At that time, what happened? +

**16.32 hrs.**

(Mr. Speaker *in the Chair*)

There will be a great loss which cannot be compensated by enemies of democracy. There is a loss to the public Exchequer, to the entire country of 106 crore people who pay taxes to the Government. There is a heavy loss to the Exchequer if we are going to face election again and again. Therefore, the day has come before this august Parliament to ponder over it. All the leaders should sit together and try to bring the two-party political system in this country.

Under the circumstances, what is the game played by both the parties in Karnataka – JD (S) and the Congress – to wash out the Government of hon. Shri Yeddiyurappa who wanted to run the Government there? It has been taken away by playing politics. I want to say again and again that the JD (S) has played a children's game before the Karnataka people and also the entire country. Therefore, I would urge upon the Union Government, through you, Sir, to consider this. I appeal to the people of Karnataka to give us a stable Government in future. Also, I heartily accept the Proclamation issued by the Union Government. Further, immediate elections should take place in Karnataka and they should not be postponed at any cost.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA (HASSAN): Sir, at the outset, I would like to request you to allow me to speak from this seat because I have already written a letter requesting you to change my seat. Today, I am requesting you to allow me to speak from this seat.

MR. SPEAKER: Can you come here?

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I will stand here itself and speak.

MR. SPEAKER: Please come here.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I read an article today saying "Sitting as a back-bencher, now Devegowda has become a betrayer." Who has written that article? ...(*Interruptions*) It does not matter.

MR. SPEAKER: So far as the Chair is concerned, I will be very happy if you come here and speak.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, please permit me to speak from this seat.

MR. SPEAKER: That is for your convenience. But I would like you to come here and speak.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : One article was written by one of the staunch supporters of the Opposition Leader. It says: "A back-bencher has become a betrayer." This is the article that I have seen. It starts from there.

In the year 2004, there was a fractured mandate.[\[R65\]](#)

Till now, I have not spoken a single word. I have not interfered in the speeches of any hon. Members. That is why, I pray to all the hon. Members who have spoken, "Please allow me to speak without any disturbance."

My habit is to take everything supportively. At the same time, I want to respond to the attack they have made on JD (S) and especially on Devegowda and his family. Sir, 2004 was a fractured mandate. I have not gone to the doors of anybody to form the Government. Let me speak very frankly. I do not want to take names of any individuals except the Members who are in this House. The former Chief Minister of Karnataka with his son-in-law had come to my doors in 5, Safadarjang Lane. I said, "No". You have reduced Congress from 159 to 64. It is not 65. Our own leader, the Deputy Chief Minister, resigned and joined Congress. It had become 65 with 257 votes. You put up a candidate who is called Uttara Brahmin. I know all these things. An Uttara Brahmin should get all the Brahmin votes. I am not going to speak on the caste issue. Sir, before 2004, JD (S) was formed in 1999. Some of those friends who wanted to join BJP, have joined and whatever their political decision were, I do not want to explain now. Some of the friends including late Shri Madhu Dandavateji took the decision to keep this party as Janta Dal (Secular) and decided that we should fight both BJP and Congress at equal distance. In 1999, I was defeated. My party State leader was also defeated.

I would just go back to 1998. There was an election to the Parliament after Shri Vajpayee had lost by one vote. One of the seniormost leaders of BJP came to Hassan. He addressed a public election campaign in Belur and Hassan and said, "Defeat Devegowda. Elect anybody you want." That was the call given by the seniormost leader - the seniormost leader after Vajpayeeji, after Advaniji - the other seniormost leader who was addressing the public in my parliamentary constituency. I was defeated. In 1999 again, I was defeated because the party was split 15 days earlier to the election. One group was BJP. The other group formed JD (S). My party got 10 seats out of 224. Congress was not able to tolerate those 10 seats. [\[MSOffice66\]](#)

Out of 10, 6 were taken away by the Congress and those persons with ideological commitment remained with us. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: This is not right.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, I can speak volumes about the political system in this country. My last speech here was on the Budget on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August. After that I have not entered this House. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: You ignore them.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, when I was at the receiving end, I received all the criticisms very sportingly. So, I must now give a suitable reply. In 2004, the Congress President called me, we had 5 sittings and we came to an understanding to form the Government with power sharing on the Maharashtra pattern. Till Madam Gandhi called me, I did not talk with anybody in the Congress Party. When several other people from the Congress Party came and met me, I did not talk with them regarding the formation of the Government. On the day when she was elected as the Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, that night she called me, there were five rounds of discussion and I do not want to anything as to what had transpired in those meetings. I do not want to use this forum for that. There will be sufficient time for me to use all those things in the election platform. The person who approached me was the former Chief Minister of Karnataka and he started his game to destabilize the JD (S).

Sir, Shri Jalappa wanted an inquiry about the 20 months of misrule. Why only 20 months? Let him go back to the previous five years rule also. Then, I will wholeheartedly support him.

Sir, the hon. Home Minister is here. How many times.. \*

did come to Karnataka? Has his intelligence machinery failed? ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : Sir, this has no relevance. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, what Shri Jalappa has said, I have taken it sportingly. I am not mentioning anybody's name because I know my limitations. How many times..\* visited Karnataka? The Home Minister has got all the intelligence reports at his disposal. ...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI M. SHIVANNA (CHAMRAJANAGAR): Mr. Speaker, Sir, why is he disturbing our leader? When he spoke, we did not disturb him. ...(*Interruptions*)

MR. SPEAKER: It is a case for debate and for a debate we must listen to each other.

...(*Interruptions*)

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\* Not recorded

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Shivanna, your leader does not need your help. He is requesting you to keep quiet. Don't defy him at least.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, I express my apologies for my colleague's behaviour.

MR. SPEAKER: You know very well that we cannot discuss the Governor's conduct or the Prime Minister's conduct. Don't bring them here.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, I am not going to take the name of the Governor. But how did the politics of Karnataka go on? After Shri Dharam Singh took charge, 23 portfolios were kept by him. I have not made any complaint. Whatever I am going to speak now, if a word of untruth is there, Shri Jalappa can move a privilege motion against me in this very House. The Cabinet of Karnataka was not expanded for nearly 6 months. So, ultimately, the JD (S) MLAs had a separate meeting and they wanted to withdraw the support.[\[R67\]](#) At that time, â€¹\* called me. He told me that they would allow...(*Interruptions*)

[\[r68\]](#) MR. SPEAKER: Is he present in the House?

...(*Interruptions*)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : He may be in the other House. That is why, I have not taken his name. He is a Member of the other House. There is a rule to take the name of the other House and discuss. That is why, I have limited myself to that stage. He called me after six months and told me that Madam had permitted to have our full Ministry. So far as their Ministry issue

was concerned, they would not have the full strength or they would not fill up all the Ministries and they would keep two pending and that was the decision taken by the Congress High Command. That is why, I would leave it to that stage.

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\* Not recorded

The propaganda went on that Dharam Singh was a weak Chief Minister and Devegowda would swallow the Congress (I). During Dharam Singh's period, the elections were held to Parliament for Bidar constituency. In the last five elections to the Parliament, the Congress lost to the BJP. When bye-election was held, for the first time, the Congress came to this House through the bye-election, when Dharam Singh was the Chief Minister. He was a weak Chief Minister. He was heading the Government and for the first time, after 25 years, the Congress (I) MP came to this House.

There was also another bye-election. Shri Bangarappa is not here. He is the former Chief Minister and he is a reputed man. He joined the BJP before the election and with his background or support they got 79 seats. I know Karnataka, I know every constituency of Karnataka. I am not a new man. In 1999, BJP got 39 seats.

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : BJP got 44 seats.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : All right. It may be 44, as he says. I will correct myself. In 2004, they got 79 seats. The NDA was defeated in the country and the BJP got some seats. When Shri Bangarappa resigned from the Parliament, there was a bye-election and Shri Bangarappa was elected again with 15,000 votes. Dharam Singh was a weak Chief Minister. Again, of course, we contested all the elections, the Congress (I), JD(S) and BJP. It was now the question of fighting the battle over the electoral ballots, but we are sharing the power. The former Chief Minister resigned. In that constituency, all the three parties contested and JD (S) candidate was elected. They now compromise on the issue of fighting the electoral battle.

Then the local body elections came. In the local body elections, how my Party was destabilised, I do not want to narrate all these things here. If Devegowda is a betrayer, let the people decide. What Shri Anantha Kumar has said, the people of Karnataka are going to give the answer whether Devegowda is a betrayer or who betrayed whom. It is for both the national parties, let us accept the people's verdict.[\[r69\]](#) Then we can give our certificates.

Sir, I do not want to hurt anybody. In the local body election, we wanted to see that the Party is totally destabilized. At that time, I still remember, on 7th January, I called a meeting of the Legislature Party to say that there is no fun in continuing with this coalition. Shivraj Patil *ji*, I want to make it clear. You have got every report and all that. I took a decision to go for polls; no alliance business. I came to Delhi. I had five district meetings from 8th to 13th. On 14th, on *Makara Sankranti* day, I came to Delhi.

I come to one issue which is pending in the Supreme Court. It is a *sub judice* matter; I do not want to make much on that issue. That issue was listed on 18th. Jalappa *ji* said one truth. Who went to Kumaraswamy's residence? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : I always spoke truth....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : That is why I welcome it. The BJP Party leader has made one person as Public Prosecutor. He has narrated the whole story. Yeddyurappa *ji* and two others went to his house. He persuaded him to become the Chief Minister, when I was in Delhi. I was sitting here for the other purpose. Why?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. JALAPPA : It was not from the front door; it was from the back door....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : If I knew that, it would be a different issue. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Please address the Chair.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I would like to make it very clear that whatever happened was without my knowledge. Our Samajwadi friend has said that Devegowda goes to holy places; I took him, and there is God fear. I take it forthwith.

During those five days, what has happened? I would like to ask Mr. Ananth Kumar *ji*, one of the senior-most leaders in your party, your Parliamentary Board Member, your General-Secretary, to see what happened. Another Rajya Sabha from Karnataka was there. All these things were conspired. On 18th, before I went to Bangalore, both the groups went away from Bangalore. Where was the need? You could have discussed with me straightaway. He is the former President of Bharatiya Janata Party and he is the General-Secretary of the Bharatiya Janata Party. At that time he was the Vice-President of the Bharatiya Janata Party. So, they have made all this arrangement. I do not know what is the understanding; why was the agreement. All these things have been kept in dark.

On the day when Kumaraswamy took oath, no family member attended the oath-taking ceremony. With pain and agony, I am telling about this. Earlier to that, Yeddyurappa *ji* himself has said: "I went to Kumaraswamy; I will resign from Bharatiya Janata Party; you make me the Minister." He has openly admitted it not only in the electronic media but also in the print media.[\[r70\]](#)

Sir, there was a big fight in the BJP. And because we influenced the Central leadership, it was all mentioned, and I have got the Press cuttings *â€* (Interruptions) I do not want to speak. I maintained all these things. I know how to answer. I have got all the Press cuttings in which he had stated this. ... (Interruptions)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, Shri Yeddyurappa himself had denied this. ... (Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA: Please hear me. ... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: He is not here. You cannot go into it.

... (Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I am only answering to whatever you have said. The Central leadership will intervene and then there was a ceasefire that Shri Yeddyurappa should be confined to Karnataka and Shri Anantha Kumar should be confined to the national party.

Sir, he said 'betrayal' and 'lust for power'. I had resigned three times from the Ministership and I had resigned one time from the membership of the Karnataka Assembly. Is this 'lust for power'? In 10 months and 20 days when my Government was removed, your senior leaders wanted to support my Government. The Congress had 144 seats, the NDA had 165 or 168 seats. I had refused. I told this on the floor of the House, and we took the decision to resign and get out. Sir, I do not want to repeat the speech that I had made at that time.

Sir, they say 'lust for power'. Who made the agreement? I have got the paper. Twenty months before, you yourself formed the Government ignoring Devegowda. They said: "Who is Devegowda?" It was an attack on me. They had an understanding with Shri Kumaraswamy by the so-called leaders at the national level, who came from Rajya Sabha to Karnataka.

Sir, you had witnessed two Sessions. I had not entered the premises of Parliament. I had not entered even the Central Hall. I had no face to come to this House, and what amount of agony and suffering I had. Yes, God only must give answer. My friend has said this.

Sir, during these 20 months, what had happened? They formed an agreement among themselves what is called 'Karnataka Development Front'. In that agreement, if that would have been strictly followed for the development purpose, then the question of power transfer would not have arisen.

Sir, I am not going to quote every instance. In Mangalore, two minority persons were killed. One was going to Dubai for some job. At that time, my party-man was the Home Minister. We arrested the culprits within 24 hours and we brought the whole situation under control. I told: "Whatever may be the consequences, you must deal with those culprits. Even if the Government goes, we should not care."[\[h71\]](#)

**17.00 hrs.**

Sir, the next thing is about the *Virata Hindu Samavesh*. I was just watching it. I have not asked these friends or talked to them. *Virata Hindu Samavesh* went on for 45 days. In Bangalore, when they started this *Samavesh*, seven Muslims were injured and one dead... (Interruptions)

SHRI RAMESH CHANDAPPA JIGAJINAGI : Sir, he knows everything and he says he is in dark!... (Interruptions) He is telling

that he instructed the Home Minister...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Please allow him to speak.

...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Devegowda, you may continue.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : I am coming to the point, Sir...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: All of you have made your statements. All of you, who wanted to speak from your side, have been allowed to speak. Let him speak now.

...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: After all, he is a former Prime Minister. He is a respected leader of the country. He has some agonies.

...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: He says that he has been betrayed, that is why he wants to speak on some points.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : It is because they have made such an attack on me, whether it is relevant or irrelevant, you must listen...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, we had the right to hold that meeting...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Of course, you had the right to hold that meeting.

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : sir, it was a very peaceful meeting. But if he misleads the House, it pains us...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Everybody has a right to have a lawful assembly. Let us try to conclude it now.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, when they have given, I have received. I received it patiently. Why?

Mr. Karunanidhi is the senior-most leader in the present context in this country. He has become the Chief Minister of a State five times. His daughter is staying in Karnataka. When this Ram Setu issue came up, her house was attacked in Karnataka. Because we had got the Home portfolio, our Home Minister of the State arrested eight people,â€. \* *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : No, Sir. He is the former Prime Minister of this country. He cannot speak like this...*(Interruptions)*

There is no question of any involvement ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : It is the Director-General of Police, who said. They are now behind the bars. That is all...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, he cannot mislead the House...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: You have made your points. It is being recorded.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, I know how things went on...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: When you were speaking, he kept quiet and listened to all of us patiently. Let us hear him.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, when they were speaking, I kept quiet. Even when the Congress friends were speaking, I did not interfere. I listened to them patiently.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes. You only address the Chair.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Please, Sir. It may be my last speech, I do not know.

MR. SPEAKER: No, no. How can it be?

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Please, Sir.



MR. SPEAKER: I will keep you detained here! How can I allow you to go away?

...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : It is because the country would now look with bias, plus the proceedings of this House would be going throughout the country that Devegowda is a betrayer and he has the lust for power and what not. I have taken all these brickbats. I welcomed them.

The other thing is this. It is one of the important factors, which is pertaining to a corporate house or whatever company, I would not name that company. But I would name the persons. It is Bangalore Mysore Infrastructure Corridor. The Supreme Court gave some judgments.

One of the persons, who was fighting for the farmers, was a former Chief Justice and the Governor of Bihar, who has also written an article, Shri Rama Jois.

Sir, he prepared a Bill to cancel the contract after they have lost the case in the Supreme Court. That Bill was listed in the Cabinet. For six hours, the BJP Ministers and the State President have not entered the Cabinet Room. They were all waiting.....(Interruptions) Please hear me. I will come to that point. What is the condition you have put here? I will come to that. There is nothing.

SHRI MANJUNATH KUNNUR : No development has taken place in your Party's rule.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Please hear me.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: As long as the Speaker allows him, he should be allowed.

MR. SPEAKER: Yes.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : This is 27<sup>th</sup> October, 2007.

MR. SPEAKER: I also know that you wish to see that this is an important discussion.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Of course, the attack was so horrible. In that, they have mentioned that the Supreme Court's decision is final. This is what they have mentioned in the so-called stamped agreement. I can give other things.

For Bellary, the BJP would ensure no further embarrassment. The JD(S) would not interfere in the BJP's choice for their Ministry. This is their agreement. I have got some experience, at least, minimum 50 years of public life, maybe, in the State politics or in the national politics. When these people went on in the street that Devegowda's son has betrayed by not transferring the power, this was the attack. For the first time, one of the representatives, who represents Karnataka from Bharatiya Janata Partyâ€”with your permission I take his nameâ€”Yashwant Sinhaji came to me at 10.30 in the night. It is the first time their national leadership is involved. As soon as he landed in the airport, he phoned me saying that he wanted to meet me separately and nobody should know. Then, in a friend's car, he came to a particular place and we had a discussion till 1.15 a.m. What was the issue I discussed? The issue was this. ...(Interruptions) Yes, that was discussed. Power transfer is not a problem. But in the last 20 months, what has happened in Karnataka should not happen. I narrated all the events starting from their boycotting the Cabinet and on the previous day, the meeting of 28 MLAs in a five star hotel under the leadership of Shri Yeddyrappaji. All these things were published in the newspapers and I do not want to speak about what has happened there.

We pocketed so many things....(Interruptions)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, he is reading from the newspaper report that 28 MLAs met in a five star hotel....(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: He has not read from the newspaper.

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : He has just now said.

MR. SPEAKER: Do not read the newspaper.

SHRI PRIYA RANJAN DASMUNSI: Sir, I am not going to interrupt anybody. For your notice, I would like to tell you that you find out from your Secretariat how much time the Leader of the BJP took and what are the things they have said about this gentleman, our leader. He has a right to defend. He has a right to reply. Why not?

SHRI M. SHIVANNA : Sir, that is correct. Mr. Speaker, Sir, you go through it.[\[m72\]](#)

...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Shivanna, you please sit down.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : How can he say that some MLAs met, in a five-star hotel etc.? ...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No Member can say how another Member will speak. You cannot do it. If anything is unparliamentary or non-admissible, I will delete it.

...(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI TEJASWINI GOWDA: Sir, we have heard Shri Ananth Kumar. We will like to listen to the other side of it. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Please allow me to speak. ...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : How long will you take Devegowda sahib? I am not interrupting you.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, please allow me. As I said, this may be my last speech. ...(Interruptions) Please allow me. I beg of you.

MR. SPEAKER : I am not interrupting you. You carry on. You have your agonies. I find that.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : About eight months earlier, on the streets, the discussion on power-sharing started. It was in all the print media where the columnists have written as to whether there will be power-sharing or not. I do not know about the situation in the coalition Governments where the CPI(M) is running the Government in West Bengal and in Kerala, I do not think this type of discussion took place. For eight months before the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October, it went on in the electronic media and the print media. I did not react.

Sir, it was not only that. Shri Yashwant Sinihaji has written that letter to Shri Rajnath Singhji as to what has all happened. ...(Interruptions)

This is the letter. It was about a letter to be written on a bond paper. I never asked him to sign on any bond paper. Taking into account what all happened in the past twenty months, I will only just call it a Memorandum of Understanding. It is an internal arrangement between two Parties. What is the purpose of it? In my sincere view, a formalisation of this understanding having the benefit of the vision and the maturity of the national leadership of both the Parties, it will not only facilitate the task of the Government formation and a spirit of mutual understanding and goodwill, but will go a long way in ensuring harmonious functioning of the coalition to provide a model Government in the State by avoiding a kind of aberrations that took place during the functioning of the coalition for twenty months headed by Shri Kumaraswamy since both the Parties have created a crisis credibility of the coalition and the young Chief Minister and his family has suffered.

This is the letter that was written on 1<sup>st</sup> November, 2007. I will not mention any names. I will not mention the portfolios. I will not mention Bellary. If you permit, I will place it on the table of the House.

Sir, the 27<sup>th</sup> October was the date when they went to the Raj Bhavan. In this they have drawn the agreement on a stamp paper to be signed by Shri B.S. Yeddurappa and Shri H.D. Kumaraswamy. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI : It is not true. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Please listen. That is why, the person who has drafted it - I will not take the names of the other two leaders - chose to resign from the membership of the Party and gave an explanation as to how he was humiliated and betrayed. That is why he was going to resign. That is the statement which also I have got it. ...(Interruptions) I have not asked. Yes. What was the reason for giving my consent to form the Government? What was the reason? [k73]

The present Karnataka State Assembly has only three main political configurations with the Congress having 64 seats, BJP 79 and JD(S) 58 out of the total strength of 213 of the House. With JD(S) having conveyed its decision to go for polls and

demanding the dissolution of the House, the scope of any combination to form the Government in the State within the accepted constitutional framework and norms get totally negated. As such, the dissolution of the House remains the only valid constitutional choice left under the circumstances as any other alternative force opens only the floodgates for attempts to subvert the electoral mandate and the constitutional norms and propriety.

This is the letter I wrote on 24<sup>th</sup> to the Prime Minister. This letter warns of even more serious concerns and told that the same elements from the State Congress, who have weaned away to JD(S) leaders are at work again. It is unholy pursuit which can have disastrous consequences for the long-term political future of the State where even fresh elections, with the secular forces working at cross-purposes, may only serve to strengthen the communal forces in the State, having in fact impact even on our national politics. Sir, I not only wrote this letter to the Prime Minister, but also telephoned to him. I begged him – I do not want to say this word shame – to dissolve the House and told him that those friends who had destabilised the Dharam Singh Government, the same friends are operating here also.

Sir, His Excellency, the Governor of Karnataka has sent further reports at least to the Union Cabinet apprising it of the concerted attempts that the vested interests are making to subvert the electoral mandate and recommending dissolution, more particularly as the State BJP has also demanded dissolution. It further says that entire attempts at horse trading by weaning away JD(S) MLAs has very much placed doubts in the minds of the people who have started to suspect the motives of the Congress. I have not mentioned the name of anybody. I also sent this letter to Madam Sonia Gandhi and to the Home Minister. At that time, nobody claimed - JD(S) has not claimed and BJP has not claimed - then why it was not dissolved. Article 356 is okay. If it is dissolved and if it is going to be upheld within two months in the Parliament, in both the Houses, then there was no problem with regard to any Supreme Court decision.

Sir, I myself took a decision about Gujarat Government. In my Cabinet, the Home Minister was the CPI leader, and the TDP Members and DMK Members were totally opposed to taking that hard decision. I am not going to elaborate why I took that decision. Quoting this to the hon. Prime Minister, I begged him to dissolve the House. Do not try to destabilise my party. What has happened in 2005, the same thing should not happen. Do not hurt me. I told this.[\[s74\]](#) I am not criticising either the Prime Minister or Madam Gandhi. I tried to contact Madam Gandhi for this purpose. I also requested the Karnataka representative in the Congress High Command to please convey my feelings to Madam Gandhi that let the House be dissolved.

Yes, I contacted the BJP President Shri Rajnath Singh at the time when about 31 or 32 Members were listed by our own friends, who kept the House under suspended animation. I am not going to say a lie. He was in Mumbai. He consulted all the top leaders, and he gave his consent. At 3.15 pm, these friends went to Raj Bhawan with 40 or 50 of our Partymen. I do not know about it as I was in Delhi. They gave a letter. My Party people have not given any Affidavit. It is only a paper. I have got everything with me. It is only on a letterhead in which they have said that they are going to give unconditional support.  
...(Interruptions)

SHRI G. KARUNAKARA REDDY : Sir, it is very clear that it is on a stamp paper. It is in Raj Bhawan, and I have seen it.  
...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please, you cannot disturb him like this.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : If you produce it, then I will apologize to the nation in this very same House. I do not want to argue further.

I had a long discussion with Shri Yashwant Sinha when this matter came up on 30 September. Thereafter, he said that "how can we finalise it?" He told me that he is straightaway going to Delhi tomorrow, and that I should not reveal all this information to anybody. He will go to Delhi, and explain everything to his Party President, and that I can come to Delhi and discuss it. I told Shri Yashwant Sinha to please convey all these issues. I have written all this in this letter, and there is no hide and seek.

Shri Rajnath Singh telephoned me enquiring as to when I was coming to Delhi. I said that I am coming on 4<sup>th</sup>. We met in one of the MP's houses on 5<sup>th</sup> evening. I conveyed that this Government cannot function unless this minimum understanding is there. This understanding must be there for the functioning and smooth running of the Government. He noted all these things in a notebook, and he said that his Parliamentary Board is going to meet tomorrow morning, and they will take a decision there. It may be hardly 10 minutes from that MP's *kothi* to reach my 5, Safdarjung Lane house, and our boys saw on TV that the BJP has withdrawn support. There are no more questions. It was their Party decision, and I welcome it. But when this issue went before the Parliamentary Board, and the Parliamentary Board took a decision -- this is not a stamped paper -- I saw on TV all the national leaders present there barring the former Prime Minister. They told the media that the understanding that took place

in 2006 is the only understanding, and no more suggestion or understanding can be accepted. This was what the Spokesman of the BJP told after the Parliamentary Board met.

After the Parliamentary Board meeting was over, Shri Yeddyurappa came to Karnataka Bhawan and he said that he is going to run the State in the form of governance in Gujarat, that is, Gujarat model for development, and Gujarat model for protection of minorities. ...*(Interruptions)*[\[r75\]](#)

SHRI G. KARUNAKARA REDDY: No, Sir, he referred to Gujarat model in terms of development only. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: You cannot go on like this. What is this? He is taking responsibility for his statements. I am sure he will take responsibility. He has said that if anything is wrong, you can bring a privilege motion against him.

...*(Interruptions)*

**श्री रघुनाथ झा (बेतिया):** मोदी को तो आप शपथ ग्रहण में ले गये थे।...*(व्यवधान)*

MR. SPEAKER: I think you have to end your speech now.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : If you want, I can take out the Press statements and other things.

MR. SPEAKER: You do not have to enter into controversy here. Please complete your speech.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Sir, the other thing they mentioned was that I wanted everything to be put on a Stamp Paper. What is the constitutional value of that? Do I not know or do I not have at least an elementary knowledge of these types of agreements? It is only an internal arrangement, and I sent this on a paper. Is it a written or registered document or what is this? I have not mentioned about Bellary.

On 18<sup>th</sup>, yes, I called Rajnath Singh ji and I told him about these things. Then, on 1<sup>st</sup>, I wrote this letter. They have refused to take any decision and they were not bothered about anything. Shri Yeddyurappa took oath on 12<sup>th</sup>. There were five or six days left. I conveyed my message to Shri Yeddyurappa and one or two other RSS leaders, I do not want to mention their names, as to how do they run the Government, if proper understanding was not there. What has happened in 20 months?

Mr. Yeddyurappa announced Rs. 20 crore here, Rs. 30 crore there and Rs. 50 crore somewhere. He has announced all these things, which were outside the Budget allocations. Sir, you have got long experience in this House. When Dr. Manmohan Singh was the Finance Minister, he announced Rs. 100 crore for Rajiv Gandhi Trust. In this very same House, there was so much of protest that ultimately Dr. Manmohan Singh came to this House saying that they were not going to release the money to the Trust, and that every year, the Trust has to send the proposals along with the details of their purpose and how they were going to spend that money, what were the social welfare measures they were going to take and based on that, they were going to release Rs. 20 crore. The House finally accepted it. Here is a case, what Shri Jalappa has said, where he went on making announcements which were outside the Budget allocations. I was watching all those things.

When I sent these conditions written on an ordinary paper to such national leaders, who ran the country for six years, they said, "Nothing doing. What has happened 20 months back, that will only be the understanding." If that is the understanding, yes, he must pardon me, I cannot accept that. On 18<sup>th</sup>, I have asked the legislators to meet because the Vote-of-Confidence was on 19<sup>th</sup>. In the Legislature Party meeting, the portfolio issue came up. It is not to make money. If you see, I have written a letter to then Dharam Singh Government on how the mine lobby was working in the State and requested him to take steps right from 2002 onwards. That was the letter which I wrote to Shri Dharam Singh.[\[r76\]](#) Quoting that letter that I had written to the Chief Minister of Karnataka in the coalition Government, he had taken some measures and transferred one officer.

MR. SPEAKER: Please wait for a few seconds, Shri Devegowda.

We have a matter for half-an-hour discussion to be taken up at 5:30 p.m. Mr. Khanna, we will take it up immediately after this is over.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : One of the leading MLCs made a statement that if that SP was not going to be retained that day, the Government would go.

SHRI G. KARUNAKARA REDDY : No, Sir, he did not say that the Government would go. He is misleading the House.

...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: You cannot be so impatient. This cannot be done. This is not the rule of a debate.

Shri Devegowda, I now request you to please conclude.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Where is the need to come to Supreme Court to file a petition against Kamaraswamy that he had robbed Rs.150 crore from the State in three months? The Chief Minister was accused of robbing the State of Rs.150 crore!

MR. SPEAKER: Let us not go into details now.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : The demand was that there should be a CBI inquiry. The Karnataka Assembly debated on that.

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR : Sir, the entire matter is in Supreme Court. It is *sub judice*.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I know that.

MR. SPEAKER: He is not speaking on the merits of the issue.

Please do not go into the merits.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I am not going to cast aspersions on anybody. I know my limitations. The matter of this Rs.150 crore was discussed in the Legislative Assembly of Karnataka and Kumaraswamy had to defend himself. How can the Deputy Chief Minister defend? The Chief Minister alone had to defend the attack by the Congress leaders. He constituted a Commission of Inquiry which was boycotted by them. They boycotted it totally. They demanded that the issue to be handed over to CBI. A number of notices were issued by the Bhatt Commission and there was no answer to any of them. They came directly to the Supreme Court. Have the national leaders not seen all this drama at least on the electronic and print media?

Media has been hostile to me not today, but for a long time. I have suffered this hostility for the last 25 years but I survived, not by the mercy of anybody but by the mercy of the people of Karnataka. In 2004 election, JD(S) was not in the picture. It was only BJP and Congress who were in the picture then. 'Others' took only two seats. That 'Others-2' has become 58 now. That is why my party was called by Madam Gandhi. I respect her and so I went to 10, Janpath.

Somebody mentioned Shri Ramakrishna Hegde. For the first 13 months, Ramakrishna Hegdeji was there in your party. Who removed Ramakrishna Hegde? ...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Let us not go into all that. Devegowda *sahib*, please conclude now.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I will answer all those charges in public. ...(Interruptions) I will explain who has done what. ...(Interruptions) You cannot so easily digest Devegowda, mister, please wait. ...(Interruptions) When the oath was taken by Mr. Yeddyurappa, all the top BJP Chief Ministers including Mr. Narendra Modi flew in.

SHRI PRALHAD JOSHI : What is wrong with it? ...(Interruptions)[\[KMR77\]](#)

SOME HON. MEMBERS: It is wrong. ...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA: I have not told a wrong thing. It is right. ...(Interruptions) It is said that in South India, gates were opened. It is all right. The gates were opened. ...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Now, let us conclude.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I will also go before the people of Karnataka. You will also come before the people and know. I have been all the *yatras* of BJP. ...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: It is very good. That is what he is saying. He cannot go alone.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : On 18<sup>th</sup>, in the Legislative Party meeting, you have taken a decision. They said that they are going to meet the Chief Minister in a common place. I would also mention the place – In Westend Hotel, they have arranged a suite. They went there. ...(Interruptions) I know the respected MP. If you do not know, I will tell you. ...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: You can go to him and find out. It seems to be good hotel.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : If I have not followed all these things, by this time, I would have totally been destroyed. It is not so simple to destroy Devegowda. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Who can destroy you?

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I will go to the people and I will answer there.

Lastly, I will come to the question of portfolios. There was a charge of Rs.150 crore pending before the Supreme Court. That is why, Shri Kumaraswamy has said that since charges are against him, he will not be in a position to take that decision and that they must allow this. Even in the case of Bangalore-Mysore Corridor, the matter is pending before the Supreme Court. The present Government headed by Shri Kumaraswamy has taken a decision in the Cabinet. In 2002, a fraudulent agreement has been cancelled by the Cabinet. It is all submitted to the Supreme Court. They have said that my son, myself are having lust for power. We are not hungry for power. ...*(Interruptions)* The matter is before the Supreme Court. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: You are willing to go to the people.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I know how is Bellary. ...*(Interruptions)* We are not afraid of all these things. ...*(Interruptions)* I know that.

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Karunakara Reddy, this is not your seat.

...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Do not record anything.

*(Interruptions)* \* â€

MR. SPEAKER: Shri Reddy, go to your seat, otherwise, nothing will be recorded.

*(Interruptions)* \* â€

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Who is the Minister from Bellary you are going to make? ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Let us finish this. Let us hear him. We must pass this today itself. This is not fair. You go to your seat.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : He says that he is going to induct Shri Ramulu in the Cabinet.

\* Not recorded

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MR. SPEAKER: Kindly conclude now.

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : He is going to induct into the Cabinet Shri Ramulu from Bellary. The same Shri Ramulu, who has complained that the Chief Minister, has conspired to murder him. In the last 60 years of democracy in the country, I have not come across such things. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: You want to go to the people for decision. [\[r78\]](#)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : No. I will close it. What is the D-day for closing the gates that were open to the BJP in Karnataka? That is why the Party has taken a decision on 19<sup>th</sup> to vote against the Government. If at all I have done wrong, I will answer before the people. People's court will decide and not these people. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER: Okay. Thank you. Nothing more. Only Home Minister now.

...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : I do not want to name your friends!...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: You do not take note of them.

...(Interruptions)

SHRI H.D. DEVEGOWDA : Thank you, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you very much for your cooperation. Now, hon. Home Minister.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL): Sir, it is not necessary for me to make a long speech in reply to the debate. While moving the motion, I have made the points, which are required to be brought to the notice of the House. Almost all the hon. Members who have spoken, have said that the Proclamation should be ratified. Some Members have gone to the extent of saying that that House may also be dissolved, without any delay.

In view of these statements, I need make no other points. I request that the motion may please be put to the vote of the House.

...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2007 under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Karnataka."

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. SPEAKER: Thank you very much for your kind cooperation.

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**17.43 hrs.**